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News Analysis

Carter Aide's Image an Issue

By James I. Wooten

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (NYT).—In the 400 days of his residence here, Hamilton Jordan has been the target of ceaseless gossip, the subject of enough rumors for a novel and the butt of dozens of jokes and stories. In the process, he has become something of a symbol in this symbol-minded town: a glib, charming, party-loving, beer-swilling, wisecracking good old boy who, as one of President Carter's senior assistants, sets a style that is the iconoclastic antithesis of the White House emphasis of piety.

Communists have begun to question the propriety of his power. Democrats and Republicans alike are smiling at him, his reputation as a party man is making inroads into his nocturnal habits, his marriage has broken down and, last week, after a young woman anonymously accused him of making a pass and spitting a drink at her, the Carter administration felt compelled to issue a 34-page document designed to prove that he is not a boor.

Yet, last Wednesday morning, as usual, there was Mr. Jordan, as usual, slouched on a couch in the little study next to the Oval Office, offering his advice to his old friend, the President of the United States.

"None of this has affected my relationship with Jimmy," he said. And so, there he was, throughout the day, conferring with Vice President Mondale, the Saudi Arabian minister of industry, the Panamanian ambassador, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, several congressmen, and the director of the Office of Management and Budget.

"Frankly," he said, "there's just too many important things to do around here for people to be concerned about what's been happening to me, and I just can't see that it's had any impact at all on what I do."

Deeply affected. That, of course, is precisely what he hopes will remain true, for despite the fact that he is neither the roud his public image suggests nor the drowsy specter somebody he occasionally portrays, his symbolic image here could become troublesome.

Several of his friends said last week that the latest incident—the alleged clapping and spitting at a local bar—had deeply affected him, despite his overt contention that all is well.

His public confidence seems typical of young men of his generation and with his ability and charm. He is 33, politically shrewd, indefatigably optimistic, and he has with the President what many have called a flinty relationship.

They met in 1966, when Mr. Jordan was the youth coordinator for Mr. Carter's unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign. The link was strengthened four years later when he directed Mr. Carter's successful bid for that office and was permanently forged when he ran Mr. Carter's presidential campaign in much the same informal way he now works at the White House.

Mr. Jordan is officially listed as an assistant to the President for political affairs, but his role is considerably more powerful than the title suggests. Late last year, Mr. Carter signed that administratively, things were not running as smoothly at the White House as he preferred and turned to Mr. Jordan for a solution. Too many things were "falling in the cracks," of a bureaucratic structure that the President liked to describe as the spokes in a wheel.

"There was a 'hit-and-miss' syndrome there for a long time," White House aide said, "and the President finally decided to do something about it."

He asked Mr. Jordan to spend more time coordinating the work of other staff members, and, although White House residents shudder at the title, Mr. Jordan became an ex-officio "chief of staff."

Moreover, the President ordered that Mr. Jordan's previously informal participation in foreign affairs and national security matters become an official role, guaranteeing that he would be a part of such regular White House appointments as the Friday breakfast with the President, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski, Mr. Carter's national security adviser, and the Wednesday meeting of the Vice President, the President and Adm. Stansfield Turner, the director of Central Intelligence.

"But I can't make that one because I'm too busy with the coal strike," Mr. Jordan said, shrugging off any significant role in White House decisions on foreign policy.

He is well known for such "aw-shucks" disclaimers, but he is (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)



Hamilton Jordan at work in Washington.

After 8-Hour Debate Israeli Cabinet Affirms Policy on Settlements

By William Farrell

JERUSALEM, Feb. 26 (NYT).—The Israeli Cabinet decided today not to alter its controversial policy regarding Jewish settlements on lands captured from the Arabs during the 1967 war.

The Cabinet's decision was announced after an eight-hour debate that began at a special Cabinet session on Monday and which was continued at its regular weekly session today.

During the interval there was speculation here that Prime Minister Menachem Begin's government would change its settlement policy for the time being to ease the growing strain the issue has caused between Israel and the United States.

In addition, there was some expectation that further settlement would be held in abeyance because of the bleak state of negotiations between Egypt and Israel. Israel's settlements in northern Sinai have been criticized by President Anwar Sadat, particularly when he has questioned the sincerity of Israel's intentions in responding to his peace initiative.

But the spokesman for the Israeli Cabinet, Aryeh Naor, read a brief statement, written by Mr. Begin, to newsmen that said the Cabinet had decided there was no need at this time to make any new decisions regarding the settlements or on the current political situation.

Indications of Split. Mr. Naor refused to say if the decision was unanimous, but there were strong indications that it was not. The Democratic Movement for Change, a political party in Mr. Begin's coalition government, said a few days ago that it favored a freeze on the present settlement policy.

Like the Monday session, today's Cabinet meeting was held in the framework of the "Ministerial Committee for Security Affairs," a device that makes the revelation of what took place during the proceedings illegal under Israeli law.

A number of observers noted that the Israeli government has been using this technique with increasing frequency in order to stem leaks about Cabinet deliberations.

By adhering to its present policy, the government decided to sanction the expansion of existing Israeli settlements in the northern Sinai and to go ahead with previously announced plans for new settlements on the West Bank of the Jordan River. All three are on Arab lands where there currently are Israeli military encampments. One of them, Tel Khatim, in the western part of the West Bank, has already made the transition to a civilian enclave.

The two others, Tsurah, about six miles from the militant Arab town of Nabulus, and Sifta-Dahar, north of Nabulus, are scheduled to become civilian communities by the end of next month.

Israel's settlement policy on occupied Arab lands has long been condemned by the United Nations as "illegal" and as posing an "obstacle to peace." In recent weeks, the Carter administration has been increasingly

critical of the Begin government's settlement moves, particularly some that have been labeled "duplicious," such as the dubbing of a new community at the site of ancient Shiloh as an "archaeological dig."

The settlements controversy has caused friction within the ranks of Mr. Begin's coalition government, which is led by the right-of-center Likud party.

On one side, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman is said to have called for a cessation of settlement activity at a time of delicate negotiations with the Egyptians. On the other side, Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, a leading "hawk" and the man in charge of implementing the government's settlement policy, is pushing for major new developments.

Today's decision was viewed by some as an attempt to effect a compromise between these two opposing views. A few weeks ago, Mr. Weizman, who is in charge of occupied Arab lands, ordered a halt to settlement expansion work in the northern Sinai. The Cabinet move does not vitiate that order but neither does it withdraw a previously (Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

Shoot-Out Role Investigated

Egypt May Cut Its Ties With PLO Over Cyprus

By Don Schanche

CAIRO, Feb. 26.—Egypt appeared today to be close to a complete break in relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization and its chairman, Yasser Arafat, as a result of the PLO role in last Sunday's commando raid at Larnaca airport on Cyprus.

A government official said that if Egypt's investigation of the Larnaca incident, in which 15 Egyptian commandos died trying to storm a hijacked jetliner, proves that PLO gunmen shot any of the Egyptians, ties with the Palestinian umbrella organization will be severed.

Independent intelligence sources in Cairo said that it has been established that about 14 PLO members joined Cypriot National Guardsmen in shooting at the Egyptian commandos. The PLO men had been sent to Cyprus by Mr. Arafat, ostensibly to help Cypriot authorities capture two Palestinian extremists who killed Egyptian editor Yousef Sebail then took 16 hostages on an odyssey from Larnaca to Djibouti and back.

Diplomatic Break. A force of 75 Egyptian commandos, rushed to Larnaca to capture the assassins and free the hostages, were fired on by Cypriots. Cypriot authorities say that they warned the Egyptians not to interfere.

Egypt and Cyprus severed diplomatic relations as a result. It was alleged in Cairo that the Cyprus government investigated the shoot-out to prevent Egyptian capture and interrogation of the two terrorists, who might compromise unnamed co-conspirators.

The PLO has denied that its gunmen took part in the shooting. There have been reports, however, of PLO participation in the gunfight.

Evidence Sought. The Cairo source said that Egypt will not act on the reports until it confirms evidence of PLO participation "from our own sources in Cyprus and through our ambassador," who left Cyprus for Cairo today. The Cypriot ambassador to Egypt, Amal Sofianos, also left for home today.

A break with the PLO would

complicate President Anwar Sadat's relations with the rest of the Arab world and also his negotiations for a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace agreement.

Although Egypt's relations with the PLO have been strained since the organization joined Syria, Iraq, Libya, Algeria and Southern Yemen in condemning Mr. Sadat's peace initiative, Mr. Sadat continued to hold out for PLO participation in an eventual peace settlement.

Mr. Arafat has maintained contact with Mr. Sadat, through intermediaries, reassuring the Egyptian leader that, although (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Massing of Units By Vietnam Near Cambodia Noted

BANGKOK, Feb. 26 (UPI).—Vietnam has moved its largest military force in three years along the Cambodian frontier, military and intelligence sources said yesterday.

A source said the approximately 200,000-man force "almost certainly" was an invasion army. Intelligence sources said it was Hanoi's largest massing of forces since the 1975 offensive against Saigon, when at least 30 infantry divisions marched.

The reports were based on U.S. satellite photos, tactical radio monitors in a number of countries, agents and refugees considered reliable by intelligence debriefers.

The reports followed a speech in Hanoi Friday by Vietnam's defense minister, Vo Nguyen Giap, who said Vietnam "will firmly triumph" in the bloody border dispute.

Vietnamese troops attacked across the Cambodian border three times last year, but withdrew without threatening Phnom Penh itself.

Many diplomatic analysts in Bangkok believe another Vietnamese invasion is imminent, although there is disagreement whether the new incursion will aim directly at overthrowing the Cambodian regime.

Mine Union Opens Drive to Ratify Coal Pact

By Ben A. Franklin

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (NYT).—Union leaders began a 10-day campaign yesterday to win miners' approval of the proposed three-year contract that was wrong from the coal industry Friday night under government pressure.

The outcome of the March 6 ballot by members of the United Mine Workers was in doubt. And even if the contract is ratified and the strike ends on its 91st day, significant coal deliveries are not expected to resume until the middle of next month.

Electric power curtailments and factory layoffs, which the Labor Department said have affected 11,000 workers so far, are certain to spread.

The hope of the divided union leadership was that most of the union's 400 district officials would support ratification.

The 39 regional union officials were to be telephoned tomorrow on the contract terms—which are bitterly controversial within the union even though coal industry leaders saw them as a capitulation to the miners.

The UMW's public relations arm, engaged after Arnold Miller, the union president, had fired for "insubordination" most of his internal staff, including his press aides, planned to begin intensive re-education announcements on Tuesday on 40 radio and 10 television stations in the 11 coal-producing states.

About 800 union members at the Pittsburgh Midway Coal Co., which reached a separate, pattern-setting agreement last Monday, voted yesterday and today to reject their pact.

Their contract, on which Friday night's industry-wide settlement was based, contained language

that would have brought it into conformity with a nationwide agreement. But it was unclear how many rank-and-file miners understood this, and pro-ratification union officials here expressed anxiety about the effects of the contract rejection by the Pittsburgh workers on the UMW ratification.

The negotiations on Friday between the union and the Bitu-

minists Coal Operators Association, the bargaining arm of the major coal companies, followed by President Carter's quick announcement of the government-imposed settlement, clouded understanding of the agreement's terms until yesterday.

It was clear that although the operations kept the shell of what so-called work-stability package—new provisions for

the suspension or discharge of the leaders of wildcat strikes which were one of the industry's main objectives—the stability language had been softened.

Moreover, while agreeing to a 37-per-cent wage increase that the union said would bring the average miner, without overtime, an additional \$5,500 a year by 1980, and also yielding to union demands for guaranteed health and pension benefits—not subject to the reductions and cutbacks that have inflamed the membership in recent months—the industry was forced to give up contract changes that its negotiators said were aimed at raising productivity.

"We've given away the money and we're not getting the productivity," an industry official said. He called the settlement a "capitulation."

The settlement would increase the fuel costs of the major consumers of steam coal—electric utilities use more than half the annual tonnage—by an estimated 9 to 10 per cent a ton in the first year and 15 to 30 per cent a ton by 1980, based on a long-term contract price of about \$22 a ton. The utilities would pass on the added cost to consumers.

In addition to the wage increase of \$1 an hour immediately, plans 40-cent-to-70-cent-a-hour increases next year and in 1980, depending on a cost-of-living-inflation formula, the companies agreed to pay \$20 million to cover retroactively the suspended pensions of 81,000 retired miners, \$5 million to reimburse the medical costs of members whose health-care coverage had been reduced or suspended since last July, and \$200 million in the first check for each member who returns to work, to cost another \$32 million.

The companies rejected a union demand for equalization of benefits paid to the two classes of pensioners supported by the industry-financed UMW health and retirement fund, but all pension benefits were increased.

More important, the multimillion-dollar pension fund—a 1948 negotiating legacy of the late John L. Lewis that the industry had sought to replace by instituting commercial-carrier insurance plans—was retained.

For the first time, miners and their dependents will have to pay a portion of doctor, hospital and drug costs—a change that opponents of ratification were expected to oppose.

The operators' retreat involved, basically, three factors. One was the companies' early decision to "go too far too soon," as Mr. Miller has put it, stirring a rank-and-file backlash.

Another was the strikers' perseverance in pushing the walkout beyond 60 days. The strikers gained power, day by day.



Gen. Daniel James Jr.

Daniel James, Black USAF General, Dies

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (WP).—Retired Air Force Gen. Daniel (Chapline) James Jr., 58, the only black four-star general in the U.S. armed forces, died yesterday at the Air Force Academy Hospital near Colorado Springs after suffering a heart attack.

Gen. James, who had retired Feb. 1 rather than on May 1 as planned because of previous heart trouble, was in Colorado Springs to address an American Trucking Association convention there.

His speech was to have been part of what Defense Secretary Harold Brown, at Gen. James' retirement ceremony at the Pentagon on Jan. 26, called a new phase of the general's traditional "active behavior."

Equal-Rights Proponent. That active behavior included fighting for equal rights for blacks, serving in three wars and making flag-waving speeches whenever he had a chance to do so.

"I fought in three wars and three more wouldn't be too many to defend my country," Gen. James wrote in his own hand on a painting of him standing in front of his F-4 Phantom fighter bomber in Ubon, Thailand. "I love America and, as she has weaknesses or ills, I'll hold her hand." That portrait now hangs outside Air Force offices in the Pentagon.

Gen. James' fight for equal rights began early. He grew up in Pensacola, Fla., in the 1920s when equal rights was still a distant dream. He went to segregated schools and sat in the back of the bus. But his mother, who founded and ran the Little A. James School because she felt the school set aside for "colored" was unacceptable, ordered young Chapline never to give up on his dreams.

"My mother used to say: 'Don't stand there banging on the door of opportunity, then, when someone opens it, you say, 'Wait a minute, I got to get my bags.' You be prepared with your bags of knowledge, your patriotism, your honor, and when somebody opens that door, you charge in.'"

Stratified in Alabama. Chapline, the youngest of 17 children, decided to prepare his "bags of knowledge" by going to study at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

His boyhood in Pensacola, site of a Navy flight training base, had also set the desire to fly. "I (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Said to Be 3.6 Million Years Old

E. Africa Footprints May Be of Pre-Man

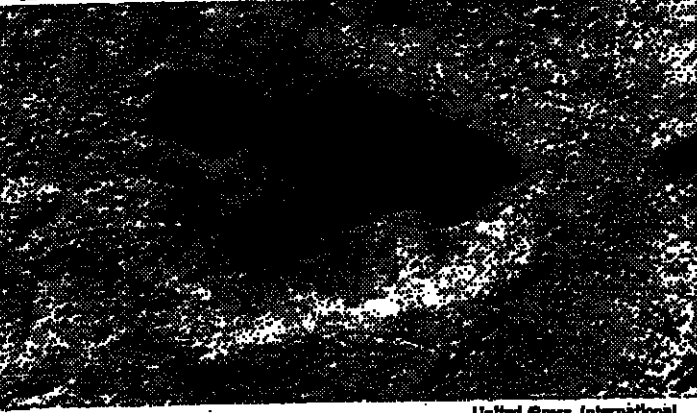
By Thomas O'Toole

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (WP).—What are believed to be the earliest footprints of an ancestor of modern man who lived 3.6 million years ago have been found in northern Tanzania.

Previous finds have placed the age of man's oldest forerunner at between 2.85 million and 3.75 million years.

Five footprints and the jawbones and teeth of what appear to be 20 individuals were found in volcanic ash exposed 18 months ago 30 miles south of Olduvai Gorge in northern Tanzania.

Scientists, however, have not definitely confirmed the fossils as being those of creatures called hominids, believed to be ancestors of man.



This fossil footprint may have been left by man's oldest known ancestor near what is now Lake Olduvai, Tanzania.

"The general consensus is that these footprints are [those of] hominids," Dr. Leakey said. "As far as I'm 75 per cent certain that they're hominids, but I myself prefer to be 100 per cent certain."

Dr. Leakey, 55, said that the footprints will be cast and removed from the site in Tanzania to a laboratory where they will be examined microscopically to make sure they are the prints of hominids and not apes.

If the prints are those of hominids, Dr. Leakey said, they suggest a creature who was about four feet tall. She said that all five of the prints were made by feet that are the "broadest of

any hominids we've seen, if they are indeed hominids."

The two most distinct footprints suggest that the feet crossed during walking, one in front of the other. The big toe, the heel and the arch of the foot are clear in these two footprints.

"These footprints tell us what the creature's gait was like," Dr. Leakey said. "He appears to have swung back and forth when he walked, which means his progress was slow. He did not walk like a modern man."

Most hominid fossils are between 2 million and 3 million years old. The fossils and footprints suggest four different (Continued on Page 3, Col. 3)

Russians Still in Orbit. MOSCOW, Feb. 26 (Reuters).—Lt. Col. Yuri Romanenko and flight engineer Gennadi Grechko yesterday completed their 11th week of orbiting the earth and have only six days to go before beating the world space endurance record set by the United States in 1973-74.

Austria	12 S	Korea	25 S
Belgium	20 S	Lebanon	20 S
Denmark	3.50 D	Luxembourg	20 L
France	20 F	Morocco	2.75 D
Germany	22 F	Netherlands	1.50 F
Greece	2.50 F	Nigeria	60 K
Great Britain	20 F	Portugal	20 F
India	18 D	Spain	40 P
Iran	1.50 F	Sweden	2.75 S
Israel	20 S	Switzerland	1.70 S
Italy	20 S	Turkey	47.12
Japan	1.50 S	U.S. Military	1.50 S
		Yugoslavia	17 D

Ethiopia, Somalia Revising Reports To Match Events in Ogaden Contest

By John Darnton

NAIROBI, Feb. 26 (NYT)—If, as the adage goes, the first casualty of war is truth, then the information that has been officially released about the fighting in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia amounts to multiple slaughter.

Most neutral sources agree that Ethiopia and Somalia have been guilty of major provocation since the fighting erupted in July. On the Somali side, it was the regular troops were involved and that the combatants were solely indigenous ethnic Somalis rising against a rule they regarded as tyrannical. On the Ethiopian side, it was the no less insistent assertion that Soviet and Cuban advisers were present in small numbers and serving only as medical workers and agricultural experts and in other distinctly nonmilitary roles.

But Western diplomats, speaking off the record in Mogadishu, the Somali capital, have estimated that on July 23 the country committed as many as 10,000 regular troops in a three-pronged attack that started from the border village of Ferfer.

Tanks and Planes
As late as September, when Western correspondents had seen a downed MIG and crippled tanks with Somali markings in Ogaden, the Somali minister of information, Abdulkassim Salaid Hassan, told this reporter: "We don't give them tanks or airplanes because we don't have enough for ourselves."

On the Ethiopian side, the denial that large numbers of Cubans and Russians were streaming into the country seemed designed to head off U.S. to match the buildup by supplying

Somalia. On Jan. 18, when an extensive Soviet airlift of weapons to Addis Ababa was completed and Western intelligence sources estimated that 3,000 Cuban and Soviet military advisers were already in the country, the Ethiopian officer in charge of foreign affairs said at a Nairobi news conference that there were only 450 of them, none even acting as military instructors.

Positions Altered
Until recently reporters who visited Ethiopia and Somalia and went on carefully controlled government-sponsored trips to the front came away convinced that the actual combat because there was something officials did not want them to see. In the last two weeks, however, these obstacles have theoretically been removed since both countries have altered their positions.

The Somali, while not conceding that regulars were involved before, have said they would be in the future; the Ethiopians, while denying that Cubans and Russians were combatants, have acknowledged that they are active in weapons-training in front-line areas.

There has been no change in official positions but the altered situation on the battlefield.
Two weeks ago, Ethiopia transported more than 100 foreign journalists to the key cities of Dire Dawa and Harar to prove that they were firmly in Ethiopian hands. The group was also taken 25 miles south of Harar along the route of a recent battle to verify that an Ethiopian counteroffensive had made headway. In the first Ethiopian military briefing of the war, front-line commanders said that their control had widened in other direc-

tions as well and that they had pushed the Somalis back to within 18 miles of Jijiga, an important city at the foot of the highlands 60 miles east of Harar.

Populated Heartland
The overall impression was that the Ethiopians had secured the populated heartland of western Ogaden and that their counter-attack, although not moving quickly, was under way.

A few days later the Somalis conducted a press trip, with reporters being taken through Jijiga and deep into the Amhara Mountains, well past the defense perimeter the Ethiopians claimed. They got as far as Fiyambiro, a hamlet 12 miles east of Harar, although not on the main road. The impression on that trip was that the Somalis were well-entrenched and that while they might have made some tactical withdrawals, they were far from being routed.

All indications point to the conclusion that the front, such as it is, is not an unbroken line that advances or recedes but an ill-defined and porous alignment of isolated troops spread across the mountainous terrain. On both trips journalists found a lack of damage when they had the chance to see towns that one side or the other had reported devastated in heavy shelling.

If there can be said to be a center of combat now, it is the village of Badbe, on the road between Harar and Jijiga, which is more or less where the fighting has been concentrated for four months. Both sides assert that Badbe has been virtually leveled and is all but deserted, but an international aid worker visited there recently and said that it seemed to be doing well.

U.S. Warns Moscow

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (NYT)—The United States cautioned the Soviet Union yesterday that overall relations between the two countries could be impaired by the continued Soviet military involvement in the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia.

The statement, issued by the State Department, was in response to a speech delivered Friday by Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet President, who said that improved relations were "blocked by all kinds of obstacles" raised by the United States.

In reply, the State Department said it agreed with Mr. Brezhnev's more positive comments on the need to conclude a strategic arms limitation treaty, but then it pointedly added:

"It is evident that the character of our general relations also depends upon restraint and constructive efforts to help resolve local conflicts, such as [that in] the Horn of Africa. Intervention in this tragically embattled area by the continued shipment of weapons and military personnel, some of them involved in combat roles, inevitably widens and intensifies hostilities and raises the general level of tension in the world."

Turkey Reports Flights

ANKARA, Feb. 26 (AP)—Frequent overflights of Turkey by Soviet commercial aircraft, believed to be carrying arms shipments to Ethiopia, continue despite several Turkish warnings in recent months, officials said yesterday.

Turkey Reports Flights

He kept getting stars and choice command assignments from 1970 until Sept. 1, 1975, when he received his fourth star. He was the first black to be so honored. He got his final command at that time, as commander in chief, North American Air Defense Command, aerospace defense command.

Defense Secretary Brown said of Gen. James: "Our nation has lost a fine officer and a fine man. Chappie fought for equal rights as he fought for his country, even when doing so was not popular. We are a stronger, more tolerant and stronger because of Chappie."

Daniel James, 58, 4-Star General, Dies

(Continued from Page 1)

didn't want to go into the Navy," Gen. James once recalled. "I ended up as another black cook." So at Tuskegee he joined the campus branch of what was then called the Army Air Corps and later the U.S. Air Force. Air Corps flight training, however, was segregated.

Gen. James and other black officers at Selfridge Air Force Base, Mich., decided to change things—entering the officers' club that was then open only to whites. The club closed every time the blacks entered. The air command finally transferred the black officers to air bases in the South, where segregation held sway.

Gen. James and other blacks did the same thing at Godman Field next to Fort Knox, Ky., and next at Freeman Field in Seymour, Ind. On April 5, 1945, the Army arrested 101 black airmen at Freeman Field and charged them with mutiny, treason and other offenses. The Army put three of the 101 on trial in 1945, but the charges eventually were dropped.

Although Gen. James was not arrested, he spread the word of the arrests to the black press and official Washington.

Gen. James stayed in the Army after World War II, stuck in the rank of first lieutenant for six years. He became Air Force Capt. James in Korea where he flew 101 combat missions in the combat zone.

Gen. James flew fighters in Korea and later in Vietnam, advancing to the rank of colonel in Vietnam, where he led the 8th Tactical Fighter Wing. He won his first star in July, 1970. Former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird brought Gen. James to the Pentagon, where in 1970 he became deputy assistant secretary of defense for public affairs. In that job, Gen. James traveled around the country as a spokesman for the administration's Vietnam war policy.

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Jean Sainteny

PARIS, Feb. 26 (Reuters)—Jean Sainteny, 70, a former Gaullist minister and colonial administrator, has died here, it was reported yesterday.

After fighting in the wartime anti-Nazi resistance movement, Mr. Sainteny held a series of key diplomatic posts in Southeast Asia.

In 1945 he headed the French military mission to China, before becoming commissioner for Tonkin and North Annam in French Indochina, a post he held from 1945 to 1947. From 1947 to 1958, Mr. Sainteny was France's senior representative in Hanoi after the French military withdrawal from Indochina.

In 1958, he was elected to parliament party delegations from nine countries arrived in Budapest today to attend a conference of central committee secretaries in charge of ideological and international issues, the Hungarian news agency MTI reported.

"Seldom Wrong"
Moreover, when the President's early efforts to obtain Senate approval of the Panama Canal treaties were faltering, Mr. Jordan managed a well-organized lobbying campaign that produced at least a chance for success.

"He is so seldom wrong on the political impact of any item," one of the Vice-President's aides said recently, "that it's difficult

lament on the Gaullist ticket and was minister for ex-servicemen from 1963 to 1968.

Amichai Paglin

TEL AVIV, Feb. 26 (Reuters)—Amichai Paglin, 54, adviser on terrorism to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, died yesterday of injuries suffered in a road accident a month ago.

Richard L. Jordan

ALBANY, Ga., Feb. 26 (AP)—Richard Lawton Jordan, 69, father of U.S. President Carter's chief

Egypt Weighs PLO Break

(Continued from Page 1)
The PLO has taken a rejectionist stand in public, its moderate leadership still favors a peaceful settlement and wants to participate in it.

No Confrontation

While Mr. Sadat has warned the PLO that by joining the rejectionists it has risked forfeiting a place at the negotiating table, he has not disowned the organization or personally criticized Mr. Arafat.

Mr. Arafat accused Mr. Sadat yesterday of stirring anti-Palestinian hatred among Egyptians and collaborating with "the American occupiers which is trying to impose capitulation on the Arabs in the form of a Middle East settlement."

Among Egyptians, hostility to the PLO—which many believe has obstructed peace efforts—has been deep since the Sabal assassination and the costly airport incident that a break with Mr. Arafat would be politically popular.

But it would anger some moderate Arab countries, including Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, which support the PLO but have quietly backed Mr. Sadat's peace initiative. Egypt depends heavily on Kuwait and Saudi support to bolster its fragile economy.

A break with the PLO, which Israel refuses to do with, would not make Mr. Sadat's stalled peace negotiations easier and might even complicate them.

Even though the nationalistic sentiment of Egypt would make a separate peace politically popular, Mr. Sadat believes such an agreement would be too fragile to last. An official said that it would antagonize Palestinian extremists and Arab rejectionist states such as Libya and Iraq—and fragment the moderates on both sides.

"Then almost any grouping of Palestinian extremists could provoke a war and try to drag Egypt into it," he said.

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Close Carter Aide May Find Playboy Image Troublesome

(Continued from Page 1)
nevertheless becoming more and more involved in almost every significant decision made in the White House, including those related to foreign policy.

He was not included in discussions that produced a joint Soviet-U.S. statement on Palestinian rights and that subsequently prompted a significant protest by the U.S. Jewish community. "But that was when he didn't know how much he could help us on such things," a member of the staff of the National Security Council said.

'Seldom Wrong'

Moreover, when the President's early efforts to obtain Senate approval of the Panama Canal treaties were faltering, Mr. Jordan managed a well-organized lobbying campaign that produced at least a chance for success.

"He is so seldom wrong on the political impact of any item," one of the Vice-President's aides said recently, "that it's difficult

for me to see how he was ever kept out of the important things."

But in the first few months of the administration, he was, as he recalled Wednesday, "rushing over who was going to be the Small Business Administration man in Houston" and that, he said, "was not challenging and somewhat frustrating."

Unlike others who came to power here with Mr. Carter, Mr. Jordan declined to build a large fielding centering on his office in the southwest corner of the west wing, the same office occupied by H. R. Haldeman and Gen. Alexander Haig Jr., chiefs of staff under President Nixon.

In relations with Congress, however, his political instincts seem not to have served him well. Many on Capitol Hill regard him as the personification of Mr. Carter's problems with the legislature: problems with the legislative branch of the government.

All Things Political
Still, as the Carter administration begins its 14th month, Mr. Jordan, the generalist, is seen as a presidential assistant who is more equal than all the others, with the exception of Jody Powell, the press secretary, and increasingly so in foreign policy.

Mr. Jordan operates from the premise that all things are political and that every foreign or domestic action taken by Mr.

As Guerrilla War Intensifies

South Africa Seen Planning Own Settlement for Namibia

By Caryle Murphy and David Ottaway

JOHANNESBURG, Feb. 26 (WFP)—There are increasing signs that South Africa is close to opting for its own internal settlement in South-West Africa following the new sympathy being shown in Washington and London toward a similar solution and a sharp upsurge of fighting in the South African-administered territory.

Western sources here said fears that South Africa was about to announce a date for its own elections in Namibia spurred vigorous diplomatic efforts last week to persuade Pretoria to wait, pending another Western effort in the next few days to break the deadlock in negotiations for an internationally acceptable solution.

The South-West African People's Organization, Namibia's militant black nationalist group, has had some support in powerful Protestant and Roman Catholic churches. But these backers reportedly are growing disenchanted with the guerrilla activity and increasingly pro-Marxist slant of SWAPO. And this appears to be encouraging Pretoria to seek an internal settlement.

In addition, the South African government is under mounting pressure from both black and white leaders inside Namibia to proceed with its own internal settlement.

'Not at All Certain'

The clearest indication yet of this country's growing inclination to go it alone even at the risk of economic sanctions was provided Friday when Foreign Minister R. F. Botha told Parliament that it is not at all certain.

Indeed it looks as if it is unlikely that an internationally acceptable solution will be reached. "I want to say here today that we may get possible sanctions, that pressure on us will increase and that an escalation of violence may come in southern Africa," he added.

Mr. Botha said that South Africa would continue to "lean over backwards" to reach an internationally acceptable solution through its talks with five Western powers—the United States, Britain, West Germany, France and Canada. The thrust of his statement seemed primarily aimed at preparing South African and world opinion for a possible decision by Pretoria shortly to go ahead with its own plan for holding elections and unilaterally granting Namibia independence by the end of this year.

Earlier in the week, Mr. Botha traveled to the Namibian capital of Windhoek to discuss "other alternatives" to the Western proposals with local white and black leaders.

A delegation of these internal leaders has just returned from a secret mission to Western Europe, where they held talks on the possible recognition by African and European nations of a Namibian government headed by the South Africa-backed Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. The delegation's leader, Dirk Mudge, described himself as "satisfied" with the results of the mission but refused to disclose with whom the group had met.

SWAPO Rejection

The net effect of a South African decision to opt for its own internal settlement almost certainly would be a further escalation of the guerrilla war being waged by SWAPO, which has totally rejected this approach.

South Africa appears to be increasingly willing to run this risk rather than to allow SWAPO, which it regards as "Marxist," to take over the mineral-rich territory populated by only about a million people.

"We cannot allow the territory to fall into the hands of Marxist tyranny," Mr. Botha told Parliament Friday.

Western diplomatic circles ascribe the changing South African attitude partly to various statements made in London and Washington during the last two

Patriotic Front

Britain and the United States have been holding separate negotiations with the militant Patriotic Front, the externally based guerrilla alliance that has rejected out of hand Mr. Smith's internal settlement negotiations.

The South Africans seem to be reasoning that, if the two Western powers now swing away from the Patriotic Front and back an internal settlement in Rhodesia, then there is a good chance they will take a similar attitude toward a South African-sponsored solution to the Namibian constitutional dispute, leaving out SWAPO.

U.S., Britain Denounced on Rhodesia Plan

MAPUTO, Mozambique, Feb. 26 (AP)—The two leaders of the Rhodesian guerrilla Patriotic Front issued a denunciation yesterday of Britain and the United States for their "connivance and assistance" in the internal settlement talks inside Rhodesia.

Joshua Nkomo, head of Soviet-armed guerrillas based in Zambia, and Robert Mugabe, the leader of Chinese-armed insurgents based in Mozambique, issued the joint communique after meeting here Friday and yesterday morning.

"We are resolved in our total condemnation of the sell-out agreement reached in Salisbury between the black puppets and the rebel fascist settler regime," they declared.

The reference was to the agreement reached between Prime Minister Ian Smith and black nationalists Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Sen. Jeremiah Chirau on the framework of a constitution providing for democratic black-majority rule.

'Gang of Four'

Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe branded the three black negotiators and Mr. Sithole's deputy James Chikerema, as the "gang of four." They reserved their most heated denunciation for Britain and for its U.S. supporters.

"British complicity in a deal of effect which is to validate Smith's unilateral independence lends full weight to our criticism that in her approach to our problems she is guided by her racial attitudes rather than by principle and objectivity," the statement said.

"The Patriotic Front accuse British Foreign Secretary David Owen of giving his 'full blessing' to Mr. Smith 'on no other basis than that of color.'"

Malta Conversations

Mr. Owen and the U.S. ambassador to the UN, Andrew Young, met Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe in Malta shortly before Mr. Smith and the black negotiator announced their agreement. If Malta talks broke up inconclusively.

The initial reaction in Britain and the United States to the internal settlement was a wariness that no criticism would end five-year-old guerrilla war in Rhodesia unless it included the Patriotic Front, whose leader rejected any participation in Mr. Smith's settlement talks.

But statements in London and Washington in the last week appeared to indicate a shift to ward more support for the internal settlement.

prelude good times, and, at length, there were occasional embarrassments, the future President, they say, never chide them.

There have never been as suggestions that Mr. Jordan was a problem drinker, but he was and remains, with no apoplexy a bon vivant.

"I don't think I could change if I wanted to," Mr. Jordan said. "Maybe I'm capable of some self-judgment, but, for better or worse, this is the way I've always been and always will be."

At the regular briefing at the White House last Wednesday, reporter asked Mr. Powell if Mr. Jordan kept an extra case of beer in the White House. The reporter had misheard a line in the interview with the bartender, who said he had gotten Mr. Jordan's case from behind the bar when he left the evening. The reporter apologized privately.

"But you write," Mr. Ford said. "Wait and see if the doesn't come out as the last same story."

Not long afterward, United Press International issued the following report, dated Washington: "The White House took down that top aide Hamilton Jordan keeps an extra case of beer in the White House."

Body of Abducted Man Is Found Near Naples

NAPLES, Feb. 26 (AP)—Police said yesterday that they have found the body of a 49-year-old abducted businessman for whose release relatives had paid a ransom of 600 million lire (\$666,000).

Police said they found the body of Michelangelo Ambrosio, a wealthy food-wholesale merchant buried in a wooded area near Avellino, east of Naples. They said they got tips after they arrested and jailed 10 persons in the kidnapping-murder case.



Gen. Vasily Petrov



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PORTUGAL HOLIDAYS
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'Tragic Incident' Possible

Greek Samos Casts Wary Eye On Nearby Turkish Mainland

By Nicholas Gage

SAMOS, Greece, (NYT)—This verdant Aegean island, so fertile that the ancient dramatist Menander declared that it could even produce bird's milk, is the nearest of all the Greek islands to the mainland of Turkey, less than a mile away. The islanders say that they can hear Turkish roosters crow at dawn.

For many years this proximity caused no concern on either side—but that was before the Turks invaded Cyprus, the Greeks fortified the island, and Turkey stationed its Fourth Army on the Aegean shore.

Sulent Ecevit, in an interview shortly before he became premier of Turkey, said he feared "that one day some Greek soldiers on some island off our coast will have too much wine, fire a volley at the mainland, and we will find ourselves at war."

And Greece's defense minister, Evangelos Averoff, said that he was troubled by the possibility that "some drunken Turkish soldiers might get on a boat, land on one of our islands shooting, and start a war."

Tense Atmosphere

Such fears are inevitable in the tense atmosphere that has prevailed since the Cyprus invasion of 1974, and Samos is a likely setting for a tragic incident.

If Mr. Ecevit and Mr. Averoff are disturbed by the prospect of such a confrontation, the Samians are even more concerned. But they have found reassurance in the presence of Greek soldiers, and in their own history.

Costas Pitlis, who runs a weekly newspaper on the island, said that even during the long Ottoman rule the Turks did not occupy Samos, which earned special privileges from the sultan that amounted to autonomy. During the Greek war of independence that began in 1821, he added, the islanders proved to be such valiant fighters that "to go to Samos" by became the expression

used by the Turks to mean going to certain death.

When the Turks invaded Cyprus nearly four years ago, Mr. Pitlis said, Samians feared that their island would be next, but few islanders tried to leave for Athens.

Yiorgos Ardes, a fisherman who runs a guest house at Fello Amo, a village at the island's closest point to Turkey, refused to retreat to the mainland during the Cyprus crisis. "I told my wife to take the boy and the donkey and go," he said, slipping an omelet at the cafe attached to his guest house and staring toward the Turkish observation post across the strait. "Then I loaded my hunting rifle and waited. I've spent my whole life building this place and nobody's going to take it away from me."

Newer and Better Rifles

Since then most of the men on the island have bought newer and better rifles. "We are not going to let what happened on Cyprus happen here," said Chrematos Filippidis, the administrator of Samos and two nearby islands. "Every man on Samos considers himself a soldier and will fight to protect his home."

To help them in any such struggle, Greece has sent military personnel to Samos and other Aegean islands. They are officially listed as gendarmes, stationed there for peacekeeping purposes, and they try to remain unobtrusive, wearing civilian clothes when off duty and rarely gathering in groups.

The Turks have objected to the presence of soldiers in the Aegean islands, but the Greeks say that Turkey's claims on the Aegean and its invasion of Cyprus prove it has expansionist aims that threaten the islands.

Prevent Minor Incidents

Despite mutual accusations, however, both sides have taken care to prevent minor incidents from starting a war in the Aegean. When a Turkish fishing boat crossed Greek waters and landed on Samos during a recent storm, the three men in it were fed, given lodging and sent home when the storm lifted, rather than arrested.

Earlier, a Turkish coast guard boat picked up a Greek fisherman and charged him with trespassing in Turkish waters. But a Turkish court quickly acquitted him and allowed him to return home. Such temperate handling of potentially explosive incidents dates back to the good relations between Samos and the Turks on the mainland before the Cyprus invasion. According to Telavghis Demetriadis, the mayor of the island's main town, which also is called Samos, "We did business together, competed in soccer matches and visited each other's homes," he said. "We got along very well."

His assessment was echoed by several young men of Samos. Most agreed that the majority of Greeks and Turks do not want to fight. "We just see the Turks have so many internal problems; the easiest way for their leaders to distract them is to stir them up against us," said one.



British police cordon off a parade of leftist militants in North Ilford protesting a meeting of the right-wing National Front. A by-election is scheduled March 2.

U.K. Police, Protesters Clash at Rightist Rally

ILFORD, England, Feb. 26 (Reuters)—Police made 21 arrests here yesterday as 5,000 officers tried to prevent election clashes between the National Front party and leftist opponents.

Most of the arrests occurred during a brief skirmish between police and leftist pickets outside Ilford County High School, where 300 Front members held a rally. Several youths were also arrested on charges of carrying offensive weapons.

The Front, which seeks the repatriation of Britain's 2 million colored immigrants, moved hundreds of supporters onto the streets in house-to-house canvassing.

It has a candidate in a by-election on Thursday for North Ilford's parliament seat. The Front had been prevented from holding a march through the area because of a two-month ban on political marches.

Police Ring
Several thousand police formed a ring around Ilford High School. Leftist pickets were kept hundreds of yards away.

Peter Hain, a spokesman of the Anti-Raid League, had promised that his 1,000 followers would mount only peaceful protests.

The scuffling occurred when police moved in to arrest occupants of a loudspeaker truck who were calling frantically on a crowd of about 30 leftists to attack the rally.

The size of the National Front's vote in the election Thursday is considered a key political barometer.

The party, which is said to be gaining support, plans to field 300 candidates for the 635-seat House of Commons in the next general election.

Andreas was thought likely to surrender his mandate to another member of the party, thus providing the deadlock that all parties want to avoid.

Meanwhile, the U.S. ambassador to Italy, Richard Gardner, left tonight for consultations in Washington. Mr. Gardner's last trip to Washington—only days before Mr. Andreotti's minority government fell on Jan. 15—was to a new statement by the Carter administration that it wanted Communist influence in Western Europe reduced.

Communist leader Enrico Berlinguer, attempting to steer his party into an active government role for the first time since 1947, said that the country was tired of waiting for a reply to demands for Communist participation.

Mr. Berlinguer stated again that he would support a new Christian Democratic administration only if his party were brought into the voting majority in Parliament.

President Marcos has hinted at an investigation and has made Mr. Dinali direct himself of three corporations dealing in cellulose and wood products that were set up with government loans and guarantees of more than \$100 million.

This brought smiles to the faces of knowledgeable businessmen of the 30 companies controlled by Mr. Dinali's conglomerate, the Hards Management and Investment Corp. The three being returned to the government were operating at a loss. All were long-term projects whose immediate prospects were thought to be marginal.

Sources here do not believe that further action will be taken against Mr. Dinali locally. But it

is understood that Westinghouse officials are concerned that something may be done in the United States.

The U.S. government-owned Export-Import Bank, which provided \$544 million for the project, has reopened an earlier study of the Westinghouse contract. There is also talk of a congressional investigation.

'Innocent Victim'
Meanwhile, Mr. Dinali is picturing himself as the innocent victim of an effort by unidentified multinational corporations to block growth in the Philippines. He says he was placing needed industries.

Those who know Mr. Dinali well describe him as an exceptionally intelligent man who has conformed to the local rules. His rise has been rapid by any standard. He left what has been called a promising post with the Philippine long-distance telephone

company to take a master's degree at the University of Santa Clara in California. He returned to the Philippines in 1962 and became a senior executive in a Swiss firm. Within three years he was vice-president. In 1970 he went into the business of manufacturing cigarette filters.

By then married to a cousin of President Marcos's wife, Mr. Dinali cornered the filter market with the aid of a presidential order imposing prohibitive import taxes on his only competitor.

Today, Mr. Dinali's assets total almost \$1 billion. He deals in tobacco, paper, construction, insurance, wood products and pulp, bricks and other fields. All of his businesses are run from a modest office building containing what is said to be the best company gymnasium in Manila.

In Manila's business world, Mr. Dinali's presidential connection is taken for granted.

In Westinghouse Power Plant Deal

Ethics of Filipino Millionaire Questioned

By George McArthur

MANILA, Feb. 26.—One of the more popular men at Manila's exclusive West Week Country Club is Hernando Dinali, 41, who is not only president of the club, but also president of the Philippine Golf Association and a self-made millionaire.

But the U.S. government is thought to be looking into some of Mr. Dinali's financial dealings, particularly his role in the sale of a \$1.1-billion nuclear power package in which Westinghouse Corp. has a \$320-million contract.

Walking across the clubhouse patio after a pre-breakfast round, sometimes with his friend President Ferdinand Marcos, Mr. Dinali is the self-confident center of attention. He smiles at friends and pauses occasionally for a chat with a business associate, a handshake here, a nod there, a hastily made appointment for lunch. There is perhaps no country club in the world that has so many West Week in the concentration of a nation's wealth.

Several U.S. newspapers have recently focused on Mr. Dinali's friendship with Mr. Marcos. They were asking how much Westinghouse had paid Mr. Dinali, who is the company's chief agent here, and whether any of the money reached the presidential palace.

Westinghouse has said that the commissions were within acceptable business limits. Mr. Dinali has said nothing. Business sources in Manila believe the commissions and other payments could amount to \$60 million over six to eight years.

U.S. Investigating
A Westinghouse spokesman in Pittsburgh said the company announced a month ago that the U.S. Justice Department and the Securities and Exchange Commission were investigating the nuclear plant deal. He said Westinghouse would not comment on the deal or on its payments to Mr. Dinali while the investigation was in process.

The Philippine government signed a letter of intent with Westinghouse in 1974 and a contract in 1976. Under the 600,000-kilowatt nuclear plant at Bataan is well advanced—in fact, ahead of schedule—and probably will not be slowed or stopped.

"It is ridiculous to think that a contract of that size could be signed without the President's direct involvement," a Western businessman in Manila said. "Things like that do not happen here."

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Japanese Fishermen Defend Killing of Fish-Eating Dolphins

TOKYO, Feb. 26 (UPI)—Japanese fishermen who have drawn international criticism for slaughtering dolphins are in a dilemma over how to cope with what they call the "gangsters of the sea," their spokesman said.

Mitsuro Kasai, leader of a fishermen's cooperative in Iki Island in southern Japan, said: "We are fully aware of animal lovers' feelings," but he appealed to the world's people to think over "our livelihood."

Fishermen, angered by the destruction of fish resources by dolphins, charged to death about 1,000 bottlenose dolphins on Friday and dumped their bodies in the sea off Iki Island, a fishing center west of Japan's southernmost main island of Kyushu. The provincial government in Nagasaki offered \$12 for each of the dolphins slain.

The fishermen said that there were an estimated 300,000 dolphins in the Kuroshio Strait, separating Japan and South Korea, and that they were destroying fish resources in the area. They call dolphins "gangsters of the sea."

"We have no good idea about how to cope with them. Even if we catch them, we cannot dispose of them in a useful way. After all, which is more important, dolphins or our livelihood?" Mr. Kasai said.

A spokesman for the Nagasaki provincial government said the mass killing was "invaluable to protect" the fishermen's livelihood.

The fishermen usually catch cuttlefish at night by luring the fish with lanterns aboard their boats, but dolphins quickly detect the lanterns, approach the boats and start eating the cuttlefish, an official said.

Mid-Pacific Island of Guano Selling Self Out of Existence

By Charles Hillinger

NAURU—This tiny Pacific island, said to be the richest country per capita on earth, could become the first nation in history to mine itself out of existence.

The republic of Nauru, with only 4,000 citizens, is 9 1/2 square miles in area. It lies 25 miles south of the equator midway between Hawaii and Australia.

It takes only 20 minutes to drive completely around the nation on a 12-mile two-lane paved road. The island is shaped like a bowl with everyone living along the coastal rim. The top of the "bowl" is a 213-foot-high plateau occupying six-sevenths of the island.

The entire plateau is one of the richest phosphate mines on earth—an incredible pile of bird manure.

Every year 1 million to 2.5 million tons of guano is scooped out of the plateau, loaded into cars on a narrow-gauge railroad, crushed at a mill and carried by conveyor belts to waiting ships.

Fertilizer for Australia
About 90 per cent is shipped to Australia and New Zealand to be used as fertilizer by farms and ranches.

Last year was not one of Nauru's most profitable. Phosphate sold for only \$40 a ton, with 1 million tons shipped.

The 4,000 Nauruans are sole owners of the Nauru Phosphate Corp. Individual land owners receive royalty checks every three months—sometimes for several thousand dollars—and millions in payments in addition are banked every year in trust funds for the future.

When the mining is completed all that will be left of usable land on the island will be a narrow coastal strip of up to 300 feet backing up to the plateau.

Serious consideration has been given to relocating the entire Nauruan population on another island when the mining is completed.

The Australian government has offered Palmer or Curtis Islands off the Queensland coast as the new homeland of the Nauruans when it is mined out. But Nauruans, including the country's president, Bernard Dowgwa, 31, want to avoid abandoning their native island.

"This has been home for our people for centuries. We have our own unique culture, our own unique language. You can't just sail away from your homeland to the earth," Mr. Dowgwa said.

Before the mining of the phosphate began in 1966 the plateau was essentially a flat surface with the bird droppings up to 78 feet deep between coral cones. Millions of years ago it was home for millions of birds.

Scientific evidence shows that the island was submerged on several occasions in prehistoric times washing all the imperies from the guano and leaving a pun phosphate of lime.

© Los Angeles Times.

Vietnam to Get 300,000 Tons of Indian Wheat

NEW DELHI, Feb. 26 (UPI)—Vietnamese Premier Pham Dong has agreed to give his country 300,000 tons of wheat to make up for food shortages caused by harvest failures in the last two years.

Indian sources said that the loan, worth about \$56 million in addition to a \$-50-million credit represented "the biggest injection of Indian aid in terms of financial, technical and economic help to any other country."

Mr. Dong, who arrived here Friday for a week's visit, said that the Indian government has shown an "attitude of deep comprehension of the situation" and "we are thankful for this."

The aid followed an interest-free wheat loan of 100,000 tons granted to Hanoi in September. The first shipments of that wheat are expected to leave early next month.

The sources said that the details of the loan were being worked out and it is to be repaid by Vietnam either in kind, wheat or proportionately adjusted quantity of rice or cash.

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News Analysis

Speculation Thick, Clues Thin on Successor to Brezhnev

By David K. Shipler

MOSCOW, Feb. 26 (NYT).—The Soviet Union is one of the most carefully scrutinized countries. Its territory is photographed continually by U.S. spy satellites. Its radio and television broadcasts, even from some small stations in Siberia, are recorded and analyzed by the West. Its newspapers, magazines and books are pored over by Soviet-watchers in Western universities and governments, and diplomats here make their way through cocktail parties and conference rooms in an effort to gather impressions of Soviet life and state policy.

Yet a key area of concern remains steeped in mystery. It is the subject of Kremlin politics, and particularly the question of what kind of leadership will succeed that of the President and Communist party chief, Leonid Brezhnev, who is 71.

Every time his health forces him out of public view for a while, as it did for most of the last two months, the issue of succession becomes a preoccupation for Westerners here and also for the small number of Soviet citizens whose curiosity about their country's politics overcomes their basic fatalism.

There are virtually no clues on who the next man would be or what foreign and domestic policies he would pursue.

Carbon-Copy Positions

Open debate is as taboo for the 14 members of the ruling Politburo as for lowly political dissidents, perhaps even more so, and therefore it takes a fertile imagination to see real differences of position among the potential candidates for the leading job.

Their speeches are opaque and virtually uniform. Détente has become a fact, they say, but there are advocates of cold war in the West who continue to whip up tensions. Disarmament is a necessity, they assert, but military vigilance against imperialist designs is essential. Each Communist party has the right to follow its own path to socialism, they declare, but without unity and a spirit of proletarian internationalism the movement would be undermined.

Whether this reflects a genuine consensus built by Mr. Brezhnev or whether it masks a diversity that could emerge after he is gone is a matter of conjecture.

Some Western analysts, making deductions from biographical and spoken nuances, say they can distinguish patterns that place Politburo members at varied points on a political spectrum.

Mikhail Suslov, for example, who is the chief ideologist, is imagined as a tough man on issues of internal dissent, autonomy of West European Communism, and détente with the United States. But he is 75 and reportedly in poor health, and therefore not considered a contender for the leading party position.

Yuri Andropov, 63, is regarded by some diplomats and Soviet citizens as the most intelligent, sophisticated member of the leadership and, based on his speeches, as more tolerant of political diversity than his role as head of the KGB, the internal security agency, would lead one to expect.

Although he is a lifelong party official and not a career security agent, most analysts rule him out as a candidate on the ground that his police association may have tainted him in the eyes of the world. But others, including a Soviet historian, expect his influence to grow after Mr. Brezhnev's departure, and they see the possibility of his moving to an interim, nonpolice job that may remove the taint and make him eligible for ultimate succession.

Most experts use a process of

elimination to arrive at the few likely candidates. They assume that anyone aged or ill, such as Mr. Suslov, Premier Alexei Kosygin, 73, and Arvid Pelshe, who is almost 79, would be disqualified. They assume that only an ethnic Russian would be chosen—although Stalin was Georgian—thereby eliminating Mr. Pelshe, who is a Latvian; Vladimir Shcherbitsky, 59, a Ukrainian; and Dinmukhamed Kunayev, 69, a Kazakh.

The analysts also believe that a position in Moscow, the center of power, is a prerequisite for candidacy, thus ruling out Mr. Shcherbitsky, who heads the Ukraine, and Grigori Romanov, just turning 55, who is the leader in Leningrad. Despite rivalries between the Moscow and Leningrad wings of the party, Mr. Romanov may be a candidate in the longer run if he is first shifted to a Moscow post.

Other Handicaps

Others have individual handicaps. Andrei Gromyko, 68, has long been foreign minister, a specialized post divorced from influence in party matters. Marshal Dmitri Ustinov, 69, the defense minister, has spent his career in defense industry. Viktor Grishin, 63, who is the head of the Moscow city organization, is regarded as a politician rather than as a statesmanlike figure.

This leaves three men. Andrei Kirilenko, three months older than Mr. Brezhnev, is widely expected to take over on an emergency interim basis. He has been a Politburo member for 15 years and fills in for Mr. Brezhnev at party functions. His basic responsibility is that of a national secretary for party-organization matters, and he is also believed involved in economic affairs. His stated positions on issues are indistinguishable from Mr. Brezhnev's.

How long he could continue to hold power is a matter for debate among diplomats. Some see him in a similar role to that of Georgi

Swiss Approve Wider Powers For Government

BERN, Feb. 26 (AP).—Swiss voters, as expected, today handed the federal government broad constitutional powers to institute economic and monetary controls in its two-pronged fight against price rises and recession.

In a nationwide referendum, a 2-1 majority approved a draft amendment providing the government with blanket authority to "depart if necessary" from the constitutionally guaranteed policy of free enterprise.

Measures to assure a balanced economic development can apply to monetary matters, public finances and foreign trade, according to the amendment.

Such measures previously were possible only under "emergency" decrees of limited duration and subject each time to popular vote. Voters also approved a reform of the social-security scheme, increasing contributions from the self-employed and tying pensions to a mixed index based on the inflation rate and the average growth of wages.

10,000 Ex-Soldiers Tell Pentagon of Ills After A-Tests

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (NYT).—The Defense Nuclear Agency has received about 10,000 telephone calls during the last two weeks from former military personnel who took part in two nuclear maneuvers more than 20 years ago and who now are worried about their health.

A Pentagon spokesman said that 140 of the callers said that they were the victims of cancer and 168 others reported suffering from other diseases they believed might be related to their exposure to up to 300,000 persons may have participated in nuclear relatively low levels of radiation. Up to 300,000 persons may have participated in nuclear maneuvers during the 1940s and 1950s.

The social line to receive calls from the participants in the maneuvers was established several weeks ago after congressional hearings publicized an earlier finding that 8 of the 2,845 soldiers who participated in the 1957 Nevada test had developed leukemia. The eight cases were far more than normally would be expected.

The Pentagon spokesman said that because of the large number of calls additional telephone lines would be installed this week.

5 Bodies Tested In Belgian Probe Of Accused Nun

WEITEREN, Belgium, Feb. 26 (AP).—Authorities have exhumed the bodies of five former patients of Sister Godfrida, the Roman Catholic nun charged with the murder of three elderly persons, and autopsies will be performed to determine whether they died of natural causes, according to Investigating Judge Leo Tas.

Judge Tas said that the three bodies were those of persons whom Sister Godfrida confessed to have murdered last July and August. Police suspect foul play in the two other deaths.

Judge Tas said Friday that it may take several weeks before the results of the autopsies are known. The test is to determine whether the three who were murdered by the nun had been charged with actually died of massive insulin injections.

The judge said that no further exhumations have been ordered. Dr. Jean-Paul de Corte, who worked at the clinic where the nun was in charge of the geriatric ward, said on Tuesday that she may have killed as many as 30 patients. Sister Godfrida, 44, whose secular name is Cécile Bombeck, underwent treatment last year for morphine addiction, authorities said.

Tunisia Rescinds Emergency State

TUNIS, Feb. 26 (UPI).—The government yesterday ended a state of emergency that had been ordered after riots here on Jan. 26.

However, a curfew in the capital from midnight until 4 a.m. and prohibition of any public demonstrations remained in effect.

Citizens can now attend sports events which had been closed to the public during the state of emergency, the Interior Ministry said.

Aims to Lead World Powers by Year 2000

Optimistic Chinese Premier Opens 5th Parliament

By Ian MacKenzie

PEKING, Feb. 26 (Reuters).—Premier Hua Guo-feng today told China's first meeting of parliament in three years that the country aimed to reach the front rank of world powers by the end of the century.

But in a report to the opening session, the Communist party chairman insisted that China "will never seek hegemony or strive to be a superpower, neither today nor in the future when we have become a modern and powerful socialist country."

Mr. Hua also called on the army to make all necessary preparations to "liberate" Taiwan.

His 3 1/2-hour speech to the rubber-stamp parliament—the fifth since the Communists gained power in 1949—contained no surprises and basically followed the line of other addresses since the 11th Communist party congress in August.

Mr. Hua sounded a note of optimism when he told the 3,456 deputies in Peking's Great Hall of the People that "things are going better than expected."

Feeling of Movement

The parliament, or Fifth National People's Congress as it is called here, met amid a feeling

China to Modernize Civil Aviation

HONG KONG, Feb. 26 (Reuters).—China will expand and modernize its civil aviation in the next five years to promote foreign relations and tourism, the Chinese news agency has reported.

A civil aviation meeting in Peking decided that the authorities would open more international and domestic air routes, build big, modern airports and train more air crews to improve the service, the agency said.

that China is moving ahead after more than a decade of political and economic turmoil.

The first session was declared open by the party vice-chairman and defense minister, Ye Chienying, who will later deliver a report on constitutional reform.

The deputies—including the world's oldest member of parliament, Jan Ts-ku, 105, who led a delegation from South Kiangsi Province—will also consider a 10-year economic development plan and a new national anthem.

Chairman Hua said the "Gang of Four" radicals, led by Mao Tse-tung's widow, had finally been smashed after repeated trials of strength.

"This tremendous victory marked the successful conclusion of China's first great proletarian Cultural Revolution and the beginning of a new period of development in its socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction," he said.

But Mr. Hua said that the people still needed to expose and criticize the gang to insure unity and stability.

On the development of the country, he said the priority areas were agriculture, basic industry, commerce and foreign trade, technical innovation, unified planning and improvement of the people's livelihood.

To meet the demands of modernization, Mr. Hua said: "We must greatly raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation so that our working people will master modern techniques in production and scientific knowledge."

Most Catch Up

China had to catch up quickly with the swift changes in modern science and technology and to eliminate its backwardness in these fields, he added.

Mr. Hua said the 10-year economic development plan to be

presented to the congress had been worked out by the government in 1975 but was revised and supplemented after the "Gang of Four" was overthrown in October, 1976.

The plan covers the years from 1976 to 1985.

The premier called for more work in literature and art and said that the repertoires of the performing arts should be enlarged.

The congress met on a bright spring day with a stiff breeze whipping the dozens of red flags on top of the Great Hall.

Outside, thousands crowded the Tiananmen Square to enjoy the weather on their day off from work.

The open way in which the present parliament is meeting is in dramatic contrast to the fourth congress in 1975, which was held in secret amid increasing extremist influence throughout the country.

Great Victory Won

An editorial in the People's Daily and in the Liberation Army Daily today said a great victory had been won in the campaign against extremist influence in the country, and that a new leap

forward in the economy was emerging.

Looking back over the last three years, in which Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai died, the editorial said:

"What severe tests we went through, what arduous struggles we waged and what great victories we scored."

It added: "Our land is bright in the spring sunshine, and everyone is in high spirits, showing unprecedented socialist initiative."

West Seeks End To Belgrade Talk

BELGRADE, Feb. 26 (Reuters).—Western diplomats, abandoning hope for new commitments on human rights, sought today to end the deadlocked European Security Conference as quickly as possible with a short, noncontroversial communiqué.

Nine neutral and nonaligned nations plus Communist Romania continued lobbying for a compromise formula. But senior Western officials said that there was no chance of an agreement with the Soviet Union on a substantive political statement.

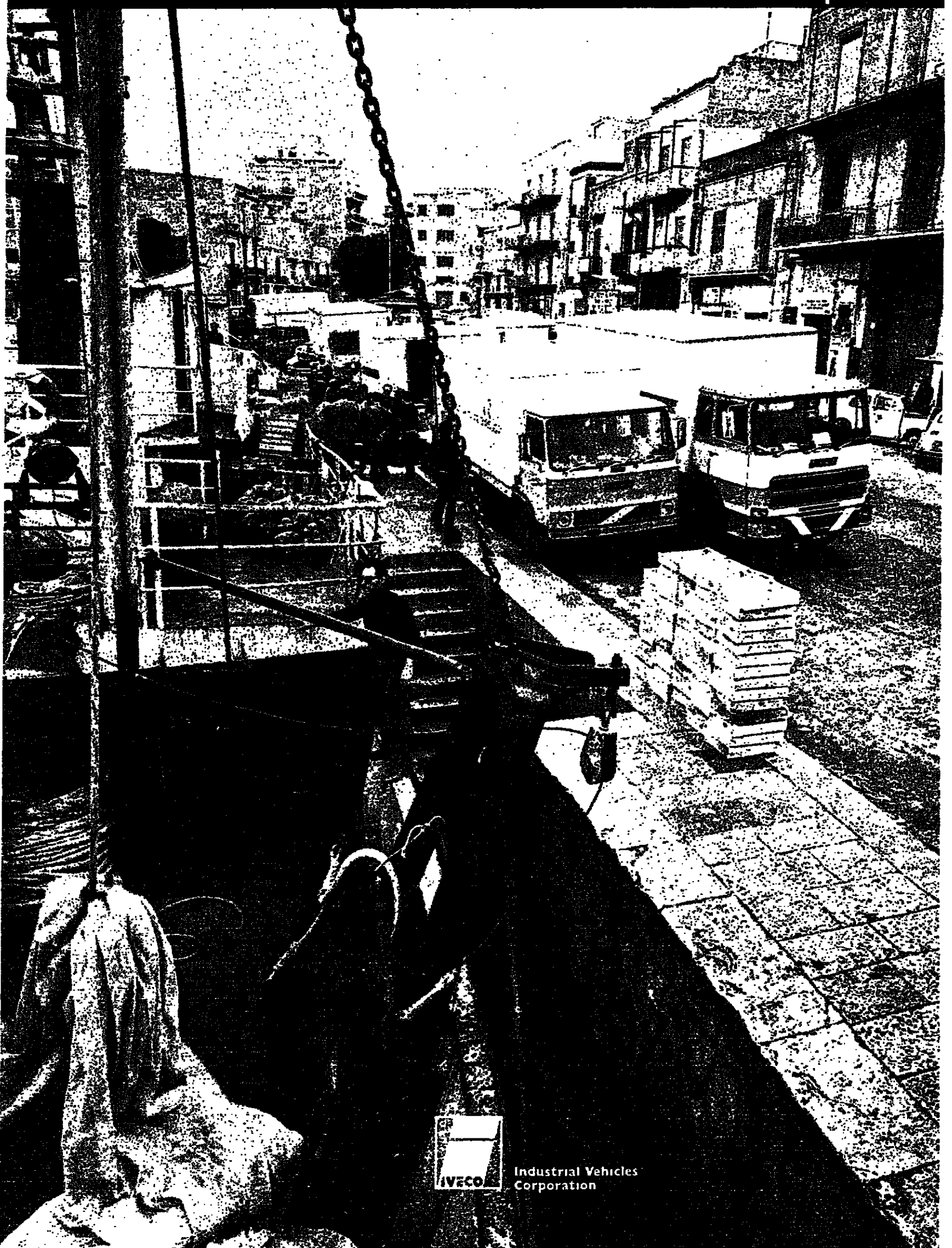
The neutral attempt was virtually killed last night when the NATO nations finally rejected a draft declaration on the grounds that it ignored human rights. For the West, this was the dominant issue in 17 weeks of debate at the 35-nation Belgrade meeting.

Hitler Film Is Target

ATHENS, Feb. 26 (Reuters).—Police yesterday arrested a man trying to plant a home-made bomb in an Athens movie theater showing the West German film "Hitler—A Career." Another bomb was found in a second theater showing the same film, police said.

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On the Spot in Belgrade

At Helsinki in 1975, the Russians, to win Western acceptance of their wartime conquests, agreed to limber up a bit the flow of people and information in and out of the Soviet Union. They did not endorse the guiding Western concept that détente requires just such a broadening, confidence-building flow. But they did accept certain obligations, among others, on reuniting divided families, allowing publications to cross the border more easily, and so on. They also accepted an obligation to meet two years later with the 34 other nations, including the United States, to see how they all were honoring their Helsinki words. That review conference is nearing conclusion in Belgrade now. It's gotten so tedious and tendentious, along familiar East-West lines, that few people are paying attention. But an important point is involved.

The point is that the Russians and some of their bloc partners have wobbled. They have not kept their Helsinki pledges in a manner matching the solemnity in which they were given. They have, moreover, persecuted the handful of their own citizens who have tried to persuade their governments to honor those pledges. It is not—keep in mind—as though the United States had ordered the Soviet Union to adopt the Bill of Rights. If the Soviet Union were to do everything in the Helsinki document, it would still be a police state. But it would be a slightly more civilized place for a few people, and that, together with the specter of unraveling that it presents to small minds, is why the Kremlin squirms.

The Russians have another story. They say the conference has stalemated because the administration, and in particular its Belgrade representative, Arthur Goldberg,

have been too pushy. We are in no position, and of no mind, to say that American tactics have been beyond reproach. But the Russians' implication—that but for the United States they would be delivering like diligent schoolboys—is absurd. One can argue whether big international conferences, with their attendant politics and propaganda, are the best forum in which to handle matters involving, ultimately, sensitive internal political controls. One cannot argue that Moscow did not go to Belgrade realizing that it would be called on to meet minimal standards of respect for people and ideas—standards it had formally accepted for itself.

Washington wanted the conference to end with a substantive document reporting on how well conferees had done since Helsinki. Moscow refused, and advanced a draft more appropriate to a Pravda editorial. What's likely now is simply agreement that there be another "review" conference in Madrid two years hence. Considering everything, that's okay. The Russians' feet have been held to a fire kindled not just by the United States, whose purposes the Russians are always inclined to discredit, but also by several dozen other Western nations whose favor Moscow prizes and whose motives it finds less easy to challenge.

There was not at Belgrade—and could not have been—meaningful progress on particular cases. But the idea was confirmed that the Helsinki signatories are accountable to each other for the way they treat their citizens. The idea is worthy enough for Americans to put up with heavy frustration in pursuing it.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

Miller Should Step Aside

As difficult as it may be for him and for the Carter administration, William Miller should now step aside and decline the President's nomination to serve as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Questions raised during the stalled confirmation process about Mr. Miller's activities as chairman of Textron—the giant conglomerate that he would leave to go to Washington—have multiplied. Now a cloud hangs over Mr. Miller's head that cannot be blown away by telephone calls from the White House urging key senators to speed the nomination or by a few more days of public hearings before the Senate Banking Committee.

It will take a long time to clear Mr. Miller's name. A six-week investigation by the Banking Committee staff has raised questions about Mr. Miller's testimony in his original appearance before the panel. He will appear before the committee again Tuesday to try to resolve these questions. But the broader investigation of Textron's operations by the Securities and Exchange Commission is expected to drag on for months. There are reports that Textron was involved in foreign bribery, secret Swiss bank accounts and false billing practices. Some of this corporate conduct was common—and not illegal—at the time. What the investigators seem to be focusing on is Textron's subsequent failure to report such questionable payments once the SEC called for such reports. Textron has stood out among the nation's largest conglomerates because it never made such a report to the SEC. That, heretofore, was taken to be a sign of corporate virtue. Whether or not the investigation results in criminal charges, it has already raised serious questions about Mr. Miller and the giant company that he has headed for nine years.

If the nominee does not step aside, what are the options? The ideal one would be to resolve the facts quickly, but that is not possible. A second is to let the nomination drag on, unconfirmed, until the investigations are complete, but that could be six months away—plainly too long to put the

Federal Reserve system on hold. The third is for the White House to press for speedy confirmation and the Senate to comply. But then, during his first months in office, Mr. Miller would face persistent allegations. Instead of concentrating on the nation's economic problems, he would be worrying about his own difficulties. At best, controversy would linger until the completion of the SEC investigation. At worst, he would find himself confronting direct charges. Better to step aside now.

None of this is intended to prejudice the man. Mr. Miller came to Washington as the surprise nominee for chairmanship of the Fed. Though his knowledge of monetary policy was thin—especially compared with that of current Fed chairman Arthur Burns—Mr. Miller's integrity was unquestioned. His record as chairman of Textron seemed clean. But questions were soon raised. In 1973, Textron's Bell Helicopter Division managed to land a \$500-million sales contract with Iran. Bell paid an Iranian sales agency a \$29-million commission. What was the money for? Was any of it a bribe to a hidden owner of the sales company who had close ties to the Shah? Mr. Miller says no. If there was any bribe involved, he apparently did not know about it.

Whatever the facts of this case, and of others uncovered by the SEC, Mr. Miller deserves his day in court this week—and all the days he will need thereafter. But he should not, meanwhile, be the Fed chairman. The President and the Senate must give the nation a chairman who can take office without a cloud over his head. The Fed post is special. The chairman heads a quasi-independent agency. He must stand on his own feet, and Mr. Miller cannot now be sure of his footing.

But there is no reason for the chairmanship to remain empty—or assigned by default to Arthur Burns for the half year it may take to ride out the investigation. There are others who could fill the post. For the good of everyone—including himself—Mr. Miller should step aside.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.



Will Andy Young's Leash Break?

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

WASHINGTON—The men who are supposed to make U.S. foreign policy have their fingers crossed that Andrew Young will not abandon his own government's moderate new line on Rhodesia—a ludicrous state of affairs preordained when President Carter named a highly ideological black politician as ambassador to the United Nations. Young's hip-shooting warning on Feb. 15 that "an internal settlement" for Rhodesia is "no settlement" at all shocked the White House and reverberated throughout the foreign policy apparatus of the Carter administration. It sounded like a declaration of U.S. policy.

Two days later, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance huddled with Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's national security adviser, in the White House. They drafted a formal U.S. statement of policy that would seem to have been hastily ignored by Young. Extraordinary movement toward an internal political settlement in Rhodesia must be commended by the United States, however, cautiously, as a possible basis for settlement.

Even high levels of the State Department fully appreciate Young's claim to be a black politician who is isolated by millions of Americans. "Now we have said what U.S. policy really is toward the internal settlement," one official at State told us. "The question is, will Andy stick with it or go out on his own?" That is truly an intriguing state of affairs for a world superpower.

Vance is a quiet man of iron self-control who seldom shows his irritations, but he was angry over Young's warning that an internal settlement could "create a black-on-black civil war." Such a conflict would be fought between Soviet-armed guerrillas (also backed by black Africa, and since Mr. Carter took office, by the United States) and more moderate pro-Western black leaders negotiating the internal settlement with white Prime Minister Ian Smith. In that war, there would be no doubt about Young's sympathies.

Far angrier than Vance were British Labor Prime Minister James Callaghan and other Western leaders. For the first time, they saw in the internal settlement a real chance of blocking Soviet penetration of rich Rhodesia when it becomes black-ruled Zimbabwe. That aim is clearly low on Young's list of priorities.

The Europeans perceive Young as the Carter administration's only maker of foreign policy with a powerful constituency of his own: America's black population. Resentment of Young's ideological and emotional reaction to black Africa, that European sense of fear, is beyond Mr. Carter's power. Young's political influence over black voters in the United States—who were essential to Mr. Carter's 1976 victory—is too great to risk a Carter-Young break.

We asked a key aide of Young what right the UN envoy had to condemn the "internal settle-

ment" in a public statement without clearing his words with Vance. The aide replied that as the "chief representative of the United States in the Rhodesian talks," Young had a clear right to "say what he wants."

Different View

At the State Department, the view is different. Officials there said that in his quick blast at the internal settlement, Young was strictly on his own; only the White House or Vance are able to state U.S. policy.

Thus, of the internal solution between Ian Smith and the black moderates, Mr. Carter faces serious trouble. Young, still linked to the black guerrilla leaders outside Rhodesia, would confront Vance, Brzezinski and his National Security Council staff and the British.

That clash would confront Mr. Carter with a dilemma: How to manage Andy Young without antagonizing American blacks, to whom he is a symbol of black achievement. The President so far has given Young unprece-

dent political freedom. He is the only American diplomat allowed to raise political funds for Democratic candidates, most recently at a \$100-a-plate fund-raiser in Miami for Democratic Rep. William Lehman on Feb. 18. Young was the star attraction, outshining even House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill. Last fall, he campaigned for a Democratic congressional candidate in New York City.

Such politicking by clinically nonpolitical UN ambassadors was forbidden by every other President. Not even George Bush, who left Turtle Bay to become Republican national chairman, ever made a partisan political speech during his tenure as UN ambassador.

The problem actually is not Andy Young's at all but Jimmy Carter's. Having given Young a special writ in black Africa and freedom to break the wise tradition about politics stopping at the water's edge, Mr. Carter can blame himself if Young stretches his long leash to the breaking point.

'War on Polluters of Politics'

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON—Others may depend on the CIA or the FBI to protect the United States from harm. Personally, I have come to rely on the Federal Election Commission as the surest safeguard against wickedness in the political world.

Ever since it was created in 1974 as part of the post-Watergate campaign finance cleanup law and charged with keeping tabs on everyone who raised or spent money in elections, the FEC has been a model of vigilance. It is a small agency—only 223 people with only \$7.6 million to spend. But it never rests in its effort to make politics cleaner.

The latest example of the FEC's pluck was on the polluters of our politics has been called to my attention by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The ACLU is providing legal counsel for the Central Long Island chapter of an organization called Tax Reform Immediately. Its sponsorship, I blush to say, is the John Birch Society.

Back during the 1976 campaign, the chapter collected the grand sum of \$135 to print up a little brochure urging citizens to "put big government on a diet."

"Keep an eye on how your representative votes on measures which increase your total taxes," the flyer urged. "If your representative consistently votes for measures that increase taxes, let him know how you feel. And thank him when he votes for lower taxes and less government."

The pamphlet included a chart on the voting record of Rep. Jerome Amodeo, the Democratic incumbent from that area. It showed 21 votes that the group

interpreted as favoring higher taxes and more spending and three votes for lower taxes and less spending.

Amodeo's press secretary says the flyer was distributed at parking lots, railroad stations and the sites of some campaign debates. Amodeo did not like it.

"We were concerned about who was paying for it," his aide, Dan Driscoll, said, "and we approached the FEC to see if the group had filed any report." As the law requires of those seeking to influence a federal election, "It had not... we passed this along, and one of the guys involved in the campaign filed a personal complaint with the FEC" against the group.

Driscoll says the complaint was acting on his own. He says Amodeo did not want to suppress the flyer. But Amodeo did feel that the same filing and disclosure requirements that applied to his \$50,000 of campaign spending or his opponent's \$22,000 of spending ought to apply to the \$135 expenditure. One cannot, after all, be too careful about the purity of the election process.

Well, the mills of justice grind slowly, but this was a complaint from the camp of a man who had just been re-elected to Congress. So the FEC was unrelenting, and on Oct. 26, 1977, it wrote Edward Cosentino, chairman of the group, that it had "found reasonable cause to believe" his group had broken the law. Twice, in fact.

The first violation was that it had not identified its flyer as an independent campaign expenditure not authorized by any candidate. And the second was that it had not registered with the FEC or filed a list of people who

contributed the \$135. But the FEC is not without compassion. So it offered a deal. Just admit your guilt, file the missing papers and pay a \$100 penalty and we'll consider the case closed, it said.

At that point, the group asked the ACLU for help, and the civil liberties organization responded. It pointed out to the FEC that the offending "brochure" did not contain the first word of partisan political advocacy. It did not even mention federal elections. It did not even give Amodeo's party affiliation. "In short, the brochure contained wholly nonpartisan, issue-oriented speech, describing the voting record of a member of Congress on issues of concern" to the group.

The letter from ACLU pointed out that the U.S. Code of Appeals in 1976 had unanimously struck down a section of the 1974 campaign law regulating such nonpartisan, issue-oriented box scores. It noted that the government had not appealed that decision and that Congress in 1976 had repealed that section of the law.

It challenged the FEC to find one line in the brochure which supported its claim that the group was "expressly advocating" the defeat of Amodeo. And it even appealed to common sense, which is a rare thing for lawyers to do.

"Congress," it said, "was concerned with possible corruption of the political process resulting from aggregate wealth brought to bear on campaigns, as manifest during the period of Watergate. It is hard to imagine anything further from those concerns than a handful of citizens chipping in to print up some brochures, describing the public record of a public official, and handing them out to their fellow citizens. That activity embodies American tradition at its finest. Under the First Amendment, such activity is to be applauded, not punished."

The FEC, I am proud to say, can see right past that First Amendment smokescreen. It has now fired back a letter saying, once again, that the group has broken the law.

Now the issue is headed for the courts. Some petty critics would say the expense is ridiculous and the principle dubious. But the FEC didn't get where it is by listening to that sort of pussy-footing talk. It will keep the elections pure if it has to shut down every mimeograph machine in this country. Who says government regulation doesn't work?

Nothing can be done for a while about establishing formal diplomatic relations between Washington and Peking. Any attempt to break diplomatic ties with Taiwan would infuriate conservative senators and almost certainly lead to the rejection of the Panama Canal treaties. But China wants help from the United States in developing its oil resources. It wants more trade, not only with Japan but with the West. It is more pragmatic and less ideological than it was before the death of Mao, and it wants to be consulted on what's happening in Africa.

Accordingly, Washington will be talking more to Peking about world problems in the future than it has in recent months. It will be consulting more with the Communist nations of Eastern Europe. Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia will be coming to Washington in a couple of weeks to exchange views on the transformation of world politics: What will happen in the Balkans after he is gone? What he thinks of the Eurocommunist movement, and what can be done to avoid war in the Middle East and in Africa.

Carter is not choosing up sides between these Communist countries, but trying to find some common ground between them and the free nations of the West and Japan, and the developing nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is a serious exercise. The government here is trying to convince all the principal leaders that they have more to gain from cooperating with one another to create a new world order than by competing with one another for national or ideological advantage. For the moment all this is very abstract, but this policy review in Washington is significant. It is the United States that is taking the lead and trying to compose the differences in the Middle East, in Rhodesia, in the Horn of Africa and in South Africa. No other nation has both the will or the power to do so, and officials here want for the support they need from other nations to make a third beginning, after the League of Nations and the United Nations, toward a better world order.

Cooperation

nothing can be done for a while about establishing formal diplomatic relations between Washington and Peking. Any attempt to break diplomatic ties with Taiwan would infuriate conservative senators and almost certainly lead to the rejection of the Panama Canal treaties. But China wants help from the United States in developing its oil resources. It wants more trade, not only with Japan but with the West. It is more pragmatic and less ideological than it was before the death of Mao, and it wants to be consulted on what's happening in Africa.

The Nicosia Affair

That President Anwar Sadat [of Egypt] should be grieved and angry over the assassination of Mr. Youssef Sebal and the subsequent needless deaths of 15 Egyptian soldiers in the shootout at Larnaca airport was certain from the start. But there is neither necessity nor reason in the way he is now pursuing President Spyros Kyprianou of Cyprus, whom he calls a "dwarf" and from whom he has now withdrawn recognition. The balance of blame for what happened at the airport falls, in any case, more heavily on the Egyptians than on the Cypriots. President Sadat's apparent attempt to stage an Egyptian Entebbe raid at Larnaca was ill-judged and ill-prepared. There was no just reason to suppose that the Cypriot gov-

ernment's attitude to the Larnaca hijack would resemble [Ugandan President Idi] Amin's to Entebbe, and there was therefore no justification for an intervention made without consultation.

—From the Guardian (London).

UN Salaries

The United Nations Secretariat is already the highest-paid civil service in the world. Now comes a new pay boost which means that 75 of their officials get between \$38,500 (\$73,150) and \$56,700 (\$107,730) a year, plus very generous perks... How about a productivity deal in which all those at the UN doing nothing useful are made redundant? The remaining 10 per cent might then actually earn their money.

—From the Sun (London).

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

February 27, 1903

LONDON—An interesting ceremony took place yesterday morning at the Olympia, the occasion being the 57th birthday of Col. William (Buffalo Bill) Cody. The entire company mustered in the arena, the company of his Wild West show: cowboys, Indians, English Lancers and American cavalry, all in full dress. They presented a handsome tea and coffee service to him. Mr. Cody, visibly moved, thanked them one and all for what they had done.

Fifty Years Ago

February 27, 1928

MOSCOW—Soviet Russia today sang praises of praise to the Red Army. Cities, towns and hamlets echoed to the shouts of millions of persons, for on this day, in every populated center in Soviet Russia, the inhabitants gathered to pay tribute to new Russia's fighting forces. It was the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the birth of the Red Army. The festivities were second only to the 10th anniversary celebrations of the November Revolution.

Spanish TV

Deeply astounded, we have read (JEF, Feb. 10), the article by your Madrid correspondent, Eusebio Debelius, about the Spanish television network. It really does not meet the usual standards and practices of U.S. newspapers, and its guidelines of respect for their readers, providing them all the information they might need in order to reach their own conclusions.

If we were to believe Mr. Debelius's article, Spanish television would be a perfect Kingdom of Evil, without any possibility of redemption. However, we dare to think that this kind of image-making will become suspicious to the clever readers of the International Herald Tribune. Had Mr. Debelius tried to verify all the data gathered just from one source, the result would have been a different one, and your readers would have had the possibility of a more truthful picture of the real situation of Spanish television and its key role in the peaceful transition process from an authoritarian regime into a democracy.

Of course, we do agree that, in general, the standard of Spanish television programs could be improved, as in many other countries, but all of them could not be so dull and poor as your correspondent asserts, when there is a good record of international awards granted for their quality, in such well-known festivals as

those of Monte Carlo, Montreux, Raduga, USSR, Prague, etc.... and by the way, not too long ago one of our productions was awarded the prestigious Emmy Award, granted by the International Council of the National Academy of Arts and Sciences of Television of the United States.

We do accept that we are presently in the midst of an important process of restructuring our organization, in order to meet the new challenges of democracy. For this reason, all the political parties represented at the Spanish parliament agreed to entrust to a provisional advisory body in which all of them are represented the drafting of a charter of *Radio/Televisión Española* (Spanish Radio and Television), by which it will be governed in the future. Meanwhile this group is also committed to the supervision of incomes and expenditures, political impartiality and adequate regional treatment of programs and services.

ELOY YEAÑEZ,

Director of Foreign Relations, Spanish Radio and Television, Madrid.

Where Will It End?

Even well-wishers of Israel must be surprised at the introduction of such historical trends as Judea and Samaria into current political discussions. These names have had no political significance for almost 2,000 years. On the other hand if resurrecting political antiquities

should become fashionable in diplomatic circles, it is hard to see where the practice would end. I can imagine for example Rome laying claim to Gaul; Macedonia vying its suit for Caria and Media; Normandy calling for the return of Britain; Iceland suing for Vineland; Sweden claiming New Jersey, and so forth.

J. D. STEWART,

Waterloo, Belgium.

Vietnam Envoy

There being no precedent for expulsion by the U.S. government of an ambassador to the United Nations, I believe that the U.S. people should be told the exact charges on which our government based its grave decision to expel the Vietnamese Ambassador, Dinh Ba Thi.

I remember, during the Vietnam war, listening to South Vietnam's press attaché, Ly Van Chan, speaking to a London audience: "The very name Vietnam," he said, "has become a flower on the lips for peoples throughout the world."

For me, it will remain so. And I don't know which saddens me most: the devastating violence of the war we waged against them, or the arrogant vindictiveness we have shown at their refusal to succumb.

MARIA JOLAS,

Paris.

U.S. Reviews Policy Toward Communists

By James Reston

WASHINGTON.—The Carter administration is going through another of those periodic reappraisals of its policies toward the Communist nations, and several subtle changes are under way.

First, Washington is not going to allow the Soviet military intervention in Ethiopia to dominate the mouth of the Red Sea and threaten the oil supplies and sea routes of Saudi Arabia to Europe and Japan.

Second, the Carter administration is no longer trying to be neighborly to Fidel Castro in Cuba. He prefers or feels compelled by a six million-dollar-a-day subsidy from Moscow to provide Cuban troops in Soviet tanks and planes to lead the Ethiopian forces against the Somali invasion of Ethiopian territory.

It is not quite clear to officials here why the Ethiopians need over a billion dollars worth of Soviet arms and over 10,000 Cuban troops to handle the military threat. According to U.S. intelligence reports, Ethiopia has armed forces numbering 192,000 to 60,000 for the Somalis.

Advisers

The Russians have poured more arms into this region in the last two years than the United States has provided in the last 25. They have, again according to official estimates here, 810 "advisers" in the Addis Ababa region, but the Cubans have an infantry brigade in the Harar area, and 40 pilots in Soviet planes stationed at Dire Dawa, and another brigade at Asseb.

Washington is more concerned about the political consequences of this than the military consequences. There is no doubt in the minds of officials here that Castro's intervention in Africa makes him feel like a revolutionary leader. It is easier for him to dispatch a Cuban expeditionary force to Angola and Ethiopia in Soviet ships than to solve Cuba's economic problems at home, and

besides, this helps relieve the unemployment pressures around Havana.

But this creates an awkward problem for President Carter. A well-armed, modern Cuban attack force can be decisive in these primitive African wars, and can create the political feeling that the way to win is to cooperate with the Russians and the Cuban mercenaries. Carter is now consulting with Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Iran on practical ways of denying any more cheap victories to the Communists around this strategic corner of Africa.

Maybe more important, Washington is also trying to analyze why Moscow is playing this game in the first place, just when it is proclaiming a policy of cooperating with Carter on the control of nuclear arms, and arguing for more trade, grain and advanced technology from the West. There are two theories here about this.

The first is that the Russians think they can be pleasant on the big issues of arms control and trade, and still be free to use military force to achieve their political objectives in Africa and elsewhere.

The second theory is that Leonid Brezhnev, who has a peace-maker in his heart, is not strong enough physically or politically to impose a coherent world policy on his associates, and therefore that the Soviet military are doing as they please in Africa while the political arms of the Moscow government are arguing for compromise agreements with the United States.

In any event, Washington is trying to hold a balance between cooperation and competition with the Soviet Union. It will keep pressing for a strategic arms agreement, but confront the Russians wherever they use force to establish power centers, and insist on increasing U.S. influence in the Communist states of Eastern Europe, as Moscow is using its influence on Cuba.

Officials here are also reviewing their attitude toward China. There is a feeling in Washington that relations between Washington and Peking have declined since the death of Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung, mainly because, while the Chinese Communists were sorting out their leadership problems, nobody here knew who was in charge. But this is changing. Leonard Woodcock, Carter's representative in Peking, has been in Washington recently, and the decision has been made to try to increase the consultation between the two capitals.

Nothing can be done for a while about establishing formal diplomatic relations between Washington and Peking. Any attempt to break diplomatic ties with Taiwan would infuriate conservative senators and almost certainly lead to the rejection of the Panama Canal treaties. But China wants help from the United States in developing its oil resources. It wants more trade, not only with Japan but with the West. It is more pragmatic and less ideological than it was before the death of Mao, and it wants to be consulted on what's happening in Africa.

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At Stake in Upcoming French Elections: The Basic Quality of Economic Control

By Paul Lewis

PARIS (NYT)—Is French capitalism at stake in next month's parliamentary elections? It is easy to jump to that conclusion. The leftist opposition alliance of Socialists and Communists, which still enjoys a slight lead in the polls, is committed to nationalizing France's nine largest privately owned manufacturing companies as well as the remaining private banks and, in the process, to greatly increasing wages.

Yet, in reality, this so-called common program of the Left will raise the state-controlled share of the French economy from about 11 per cent to almost 30 per cent, making it by far the largest in Western Europe. As for the promised wage increases, last week the Socialists admitted these will bankrupt too many companies that they are threatening \$6 billion, or nearly half their projected first-year budget deficit, for belated—thus further increasing the government's grip on private industry.

"Nationalization is a new idea in France," concluded two young French economists, Christian Stoffas and Jacques Victorri, in their recently published study of the Left's economic proposals. The Popular Front government of 1936, which was also backed by the Communists, nationalized 150 firms beyond the Bank of France and the railways. After World War II, when private business was suspected of collaboration with the Nazis, the government added gas, electricity, the coal mines, many big banks and the Renault car works.

No Imperative

The French Left, unlike the British Labor party, has never seen state ownership of the country's principal manufacturing industry as a commanding moral imperative. Perhaps it did not need to. French industry has always operated in a pervasive atmosphere of government interference, which has grown even more onerous under the present conservative government of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

Belfast Tavern Robbed, Bombed: IRA Suspected

BELFAST, Feb. 26 (UPI)—Three gunmen robbed a Protestant tavern owner of his weekend earnings and blew up his pub in a pre-dawn attack today. The tavern was frequented by members of Protestant paramilitary forces and police said they believe the gunmen were members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army.

Meanwhile at the Lake Glen Hotel four miles west of Belfast, army experts detected a napalm-style incendiary device similar to that used in last weekend's bombing of the Le Man Hotel restaurant, in which 12 guests died and 30 were wounded. On Saturday, a bomb destroyed a department store in downtown Duggan, 40 miles north-west of Belfast. No one was injured.

Cultural Centers

The signs of German nationalism, ranging from minor, unexpected manifestations to overt actions directed against the pervasive presence of Soviet troops. Nationalist sentiment also cropped

being as the world recession continues.

Today, 80 per cent of French companies have entered into contracts with the government which regulate their pricing, investment and export policies, in return for government business and easy credit. Such intervention does not necessarily stifle private enterprise. The French business scene is still littered with self-made millionaires, ranging from Marcel Dassault, the aircraft manufacturer, to the Baron Rich, who makes throw-away ballpoint pens and lighters.

But even the most successful French businessman knows that the government will probably head him to its thinking when it believes the national interest is at stake. Thus when the Citroën car company got into trouble, President Giscard d'Estaing ordered it to merge with the healthy, privately owned Peugeot auto manufacturer, despite squeals of protest from both sides.

State ownership of business and industry in Western countries

Austria	14%
Italy	12%
Sweden	12%
France	11%
Holland	10%
Britain	10%
Norway	7%
Belgium	7%

The New York Times

Major Industrialist Warns On Nationalization Impact

PARIS (NYT)—"Nationalization will lead to the complete dismantling of St-Gobain-Pont-a-Mousson," says Robert Martin, the president of this multinational French glass manufacturer with worldwide sales of \$6 billion last year.

As Mr. Martin sees it, the threat to St-Gobain under a leftist French government will come principally from three quarters: a forced increase in wages; the likelihood that France will retreat behind protectionist barriers; and from the dismantling of its foreign subsidiaries by host governments.

Like most big French manufacturers, St-Gobain pays most of its workers more than the statutory minimum wage (called the "Smile" in France). So the left's pledge to increase the Smile by 40 per cent will only have an indirect effect on its wage structure.

But the increase will still have a serious impact if it leads, as it must, to an increase at all levels. While St-Gobain reported profits of \$12 million last year, all this came from its overseas operations. In France, the company only broke even.

So the higher wages the left wants, as well as the increased investment it expects from nationalized companies, must come from the earnings of St-Gobain's foreign subsidiaries. But will this be possible? Mr. Martin sees two difficulties. First, within the European Common Market many of St-Gobain's operations depend on free-trade between the member countries. Can this continue if the left comes to power? Not if a leftist government leads France back down the road to protectionism as many feel it is bound to do, and other governments take reprisals. So Mr. Martin fears disruption of St-Gobain's manufacturing pattern, with unfavorable effects on its efficiency and profits.

Second, many foreign governments are already afraid that the French companies, once nationalized, would be forced to blend their overseas subsidiaries to support employment and investment in France. Naturally, they don't like this. In Germany, the Westdeutsche Landesbank, which has a 53-per cent stake in St-Gobain, is said to be thinking of demanding control of St-Gobain's profitable German subsidiaries as compensation if the parent company is nationalized.

So far the citizens of Valley Forge, Pa., have shown little interest in the outcome of the French election. Perhaps they have forgotten that Certain-Teed Corp., the big United States glass fiber producer, whose headquarters are there, is now controlled by St-Gobain-Pont-a-Mousson.

up recently in a manifesto distributed by a dissident political group. East Germany includes such centers of the old German culture as Leipzig, Dresden and Weimar, and the Communist officials balance an obvious attachment to traditional culture against fears that such ties will disturb their relations with Moscow.

At a recent recital in East Berlin, for example, the popular West German baritone Hermann Prey sang a group of songs based on poems by Josef von Eichendorff, a well-known 18th-century author. "When he came to the line 'Deutschland mein Deutschland,' the audience interrupted with applause," an East Berliner said.

Music was at the core of a violent clash between youths and police in East Berlin last October. The youths had ignored a Soviet band performing in connection with the celebration of East Germany's 25th anniversary and crowded around a rock band. When the police stopped the rock band, the youths rioted and started shooting. "Russians, get out of Germany, awake," an old Nazi slogan. Two policemen and a teen-age girl were killed in the melee.

East Germans who live outside Berlin are likely to say that they come "from the zone" instead of the GDR (German Democratic Republic). The term refers to the postwar division of Germany into four Allied occupation zones. In October, 1949, what had been the Soviet zone of occupation became the German Democratic Republic, or East Germany. The zones occupied by British, French and U.S. forces were merged to become the Federal Republic of Germany, or West Germany.

1972 Recognition

West German politicians referred to East Germany as the Zone until 1972, when the two states signed an agreement recognizing each other. The West German Constitution, however, recognizes only a single German citizenship and the right of political asylum, which combines to attract German nationals to migrate, not only from East Germany but also from other Communist countries, including the Soviet Union.

Despite construction of the wall separating East and West Berlin in 1961, and fortification of the border between the two Germanys, thousands of residents of the East still attempt to flee each year—even though attempting to escape or helping someone to make the attempt is a serious crime. Last year, just over 4,000 succeeded in escaping.

Three members of an East German family quietly defected at Frankfurt airport recently after the plane they were on was hijacked by a young Czechoslovakian.

Pair Robs French Bank

LYONS, France, Feb. 26 (AP)—Wearing masks simulating the faces of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and singer-composer Leo Ferré, two men held up a bank last week and escaped with 64,000 francs (\$13,500).

Cyprus Ends Charges Against a Journalist

NICOSIA, Feb. 26 (Reuters)—The Cyprus attorney general has decided not to press criminal charges against John Bierman, a British journalist, over a story he filed on last Sunday's Larnaca airport battle it was announced Friday.

Mr. Bierman had been formally charged Wednesday with publishing a false report to Reuters in London. His report said that a Cypriot security officer had fired on an Egyptian commando who had been taken prisoner in the raid.

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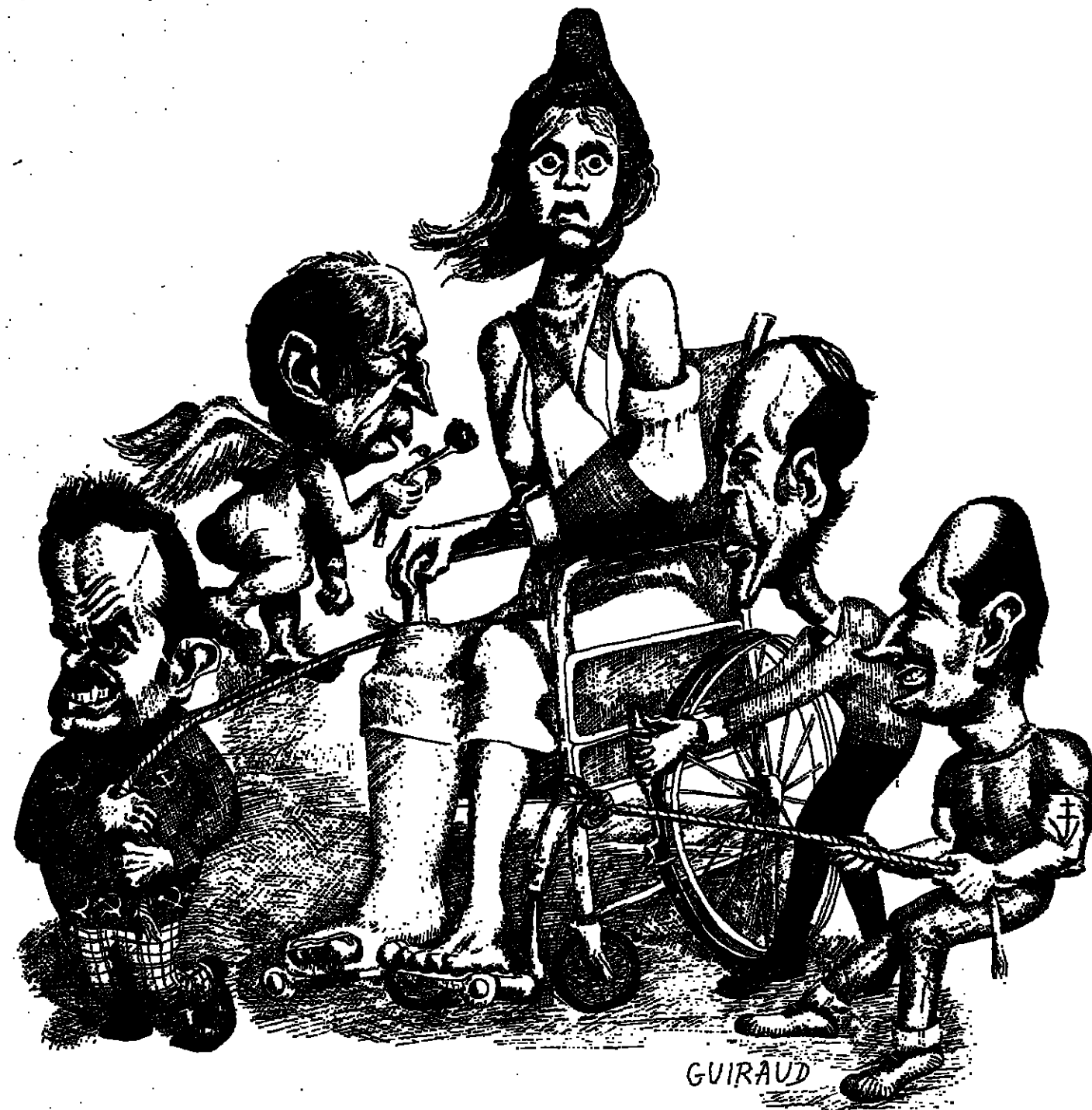
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In West Germany, Militarism Stirs Fears

By John Vinocur

BONN (NYT)—A small group of young West German Army officers has started a campaign of criticism of the General Staff and the Defense Ministry, accusing the military leadership of having allowed the armed forces to drift back to conservatism and blind obedience.

The group—about 15 men—has published a pamphlet called "The Bundeswehr's Undisputed Past," that says the democratizing role of the Bundeswehr, as the armed forces are known in Germany, has been submerged by the reluctance of senior officers to deal with issues of militarism and the Nazi past.

"This is the know-how army, but there is very little why," said Capt. Dankward von Funck, a member of the group who is a tank company commander and the son and grandson of army officers. "I use the phrase blind obedience, knowing it's provocative, but there's something in it. There's obedience without understanding, often against one's views, or in terms of orders that are given and accepted with little discernment. It's possible—at any rate, there is a tendency—that we could become like Hitler's soldiers."

West Germany's armed forces, widely regarded as Western Europe's most effective, number 490,000 men, including 340,000 in the army. Military service is compulsory, and draftees serve 15 months.

Capt. von Funck and Capt. Jürgen Bornemann, another member of the group, described the army as being preoccupied with technical proficiency. The concept of "inner Führung," or

"inner leadership," the critical, questioning approach to military life that gave the armed forces its democratic basis in the early 1950s, is now often considered old-fashioned, the officers maintain.

The concept, designed to "de-Frussianize" the military, is laid out in a training manual that deals with the relationship between officers and soldiers, decent treatment of enlisted men, and the limits set on military obedience.

Capt. Bornemann, who has been in the army for 10 years, said he would hesitate to describe the military as becoming rightist. "Let's say, more conservative, and apolitical to the extent that new officers and troops are no longer asked to think," he said.

He attributed recently disclosed anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi incidents to the absence or failure of political training. In the most striking of the incidents, 11 lieutenants at the Armed Forces College in Munich gave Nazi salutes and staged a symbolic "Jew burning" ceremony in which they tossed papers marked with the word "Jew" onto a bonfire. The officers were dismissed or suspended, although the college authorities had not felt the incident significant enough at first to report it to the Defense Ministry.

At the Hamburg Armed Forces College, young officers sang the wartime song "We Are Fighting Against England" on Hitler's birthday and painted "Don't Buy From Jews" on the door of a non-Jewish officer's quarters, who was known as "Schlomo the Jew" because he told Jewish jokes.

Uprising Quashed

With 23 Soviet Army divisions stationed in a country about the size of Ohio, most East Germans avoid antagonizing Moscow. A workers' uprising against Communist domination was put down brutally in 1953.

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Ministry confirmed that members of the armed forces had taken part in the activities of an association of former members of the Waffen SS, the Nazi elite military unit. The ministry, in reporting 11 such incidents, said the activities had been unauthorized.

"This kind of thing should be unacceptable," said Capt. von Funck. "The modern German Army is typified in some way by those lieutenants, by their lack of pride or understanding about being part of something new and democratic. People say that it's not the army's fault, but that of the schools and the parents. Yet one of the shining goals for the Bundeswehr, when it was created, was making the army a kind of school for democracy."

A poll taken last year in the 12th Tank Division in Würzburg showed contempt for political instruction. Of those questioned, 80 per cent said it was no particularly effective and 17 per cent found it "pathetic and useless."

Capt. Bornemann said he saw three causes of this situation. First, he said, few older officers have sympathy for the give-and-take ideas of "inner Führung" and give younger officers the impression that it is pointless. Second, the armed forces in the last five years have become preoccupied with modernization for the 1980s. Third, the learning of democratic principles is not viewed as an asset in an officer's career advancement.

"There's no checklist to show that you care about the political process," Capt. Bornemann said. "You don't get points for asking why. And you certainly don't get points for encouraging your soldiers to try to figure out what's going on."

This lack of probing, this lack of discussion, in an army that has a history of total obedience, is the aspect that disturbs the group most.

The man considered responsible for many of the democratic reforms in the military, Gen. Wolf von Baudissin, now retired, said in an interview that the democratic character of the armed forces had not disappeared. But he added:

"You must admit that the reforms didn't succeed as we hoped and that the idea that soldiers would teach soldiers how to serve democracy is pretty much forgotten. The failure of the program is the failure of the hierarchy. Political instruction has to come out of the hierarchy as a whole. All that's left now are the company commanders who give a lecture now and then to the troops."

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Andreas von Bollow, state secretary for defense, said he felt the group's charges were "very much exaggerated."

He said officers at the two armed forces colleges were taking 18 hours of political instruction in each three-month term, and recruits got two hours a week for 15 months.

The defense official said there would be more teachers next year for history and political courses in the service colleges, an area where the officers' group said there was a disturbing de-emphasis on the armed forces' democratic role.

"But there's a limit," Mr. von Bollow said. "The people in the army haven't changed. They're as good or as stupid as they ever were."

disident, who is under constant police surveillance, told a recent interviewer that some East Berlin workers went on strike last year demanding that a third of their wages be paid in hard currency. They figured that the factory's output was exported and that they should be paid some of the income so that they could shop in Intershops for better imported goods.

Acknowledging some nationalist pressure, East German officials sponsored celebrations of the 150th anniversary last year of Beethoven's death. The Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, the oldest in eastern Germany, recorded Beethoven's symphonies based on material found in old Leipzig publishing houses.

East Germany also celebrated widely the 1975 centennial of the birth of Thomas Mann, one of the greatest of modern German writers.

East Germany is currently involved in a legal dispute with West Germany over the copyright protection of a German-language dictionary.

Uprising Quashed

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BOOKS

A FLANN O'BRIEN READER

Edited by Stephen Jones. Viking, 447 pp. \$15.00.

Reviewed by Donald O'Toole

ANYONE who has ever known Dublin will find "A Flann O'Brien Reader" a thoroughly enjoyable book that brings back nostalgic memories of pub and street life in that extraordinary city. For those unacquainted with either Dublin or this remarkable writer, these selections from his canon will provide an introduction to the heyday of Dublin literary life, the '30s, '40s and '50s.

Brian O'Nolan, a major figure in Irish letters but virtually unknown outside Ireland, seldom wrote anything under his own name. O'Nolan the novelist became Flann O'Brien. Myles na Gopaleen, the literary persona he developed in his Irish Times column, so thoroughly supplanted the author that even today Dubliners who can't identify Brian O'Nolan will instantly recognize Myles as an intransigent but affable pundit.

The "Reader," though arranged chronologically, roughly falls into two parts: selections from the O'Brien novels and from the rest of Myles na Gopaleen. O'Brien wrote five novels, and they have been proclaimed among the finest of modern times, by voices such as James Joyce, Dylan Thomas and John Updike. O'Brien is one of the "new novelists," and like Fanny Hill and other contemporary Irish poets who have had to labor under the shadow of Yeats, he has always been overshadowed by his fellow classmate Joyce.

O'Brien's novels are both satirical and fantastic. The Irish have always believed the comic muse to be the elder of the two sisters, and O'Brien's comedy both amuses and informs his readers. No cow is too sacred for his scalpel and no subject too serious for a good roasting.

"At Swim Two Birds" and "The Third Policeman" are regarded by O'Brien scholars as his finest novels. Both are surreal and intensely funny. "At Swim Two Birds" is both a novel within a novel and an attempt to present all the literary traditions of Ireland simultaneously. The result is outrageously funny and prompted Graham Greene to say that O'Brien "takes Prandello and Gide a long way further."

In "The Third Policeman," the protagonist is dead and the events he experiences occur in a hell he has earned for the murder of a defenseless old man. The novel's most interesting sidelight is the introduction of the savant du Selby. He is one of the most delightful characters in fiction, and though he appears only in footnotes, the protagonist is a de Selby scholar and author of the definitive index to de Selby's canon. O'Brien uses him as a vehicle for satirizing certain Dublin intellectuals whose fondness for polysyllables lies in direct proportion to their presumed elevation above ordinary mortals.

In his Irish Times column, Myles discussed and dissected everything under the sun. No matter what the subject he could always be depended upon to illuminate it with a touch of humor.

"A Flann O'Brien Reader" is one of those rare books you will never quite finish reading, simply because the experience is just too good to end. It's a book you will want to dip into again and again, and each time there will be a new experience, a new discovery.

Donald O'Toole has a diploma in Anglo-Irish literature from Trinity College, Dublin.

Los Angeles Times

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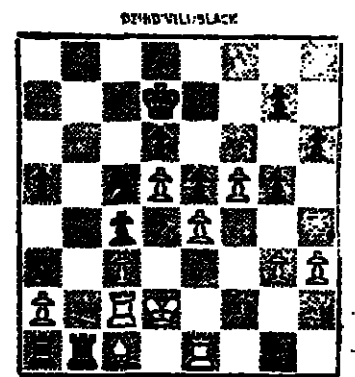
By Robert Byrne

Roman Dzindzichashvili, who became a grandmaster after immigrating to Israel from the Soviet Union, won the 1977-78 Hastings International Tournament with a score of 10 1/2-3 1/2. The 33-year-old Israeli won seven games easily and had to escape difficult ones only against his countryman Shimon Kagan.

Tigran Petrosian, of the Soviet Union, a former world champion, and the 26-year-old Hungarian grandmaster Gyula Sax shared second place with 9 1/2-4 1/2 each. Petrosian characteristically failed to win several slightly favorable positional games, while Sax was hurt by a loss to John Nunn of England.

Against the system of 6... Bc4, 7... P-K4, 8... P-Q4, P-K4 popularized by the West German grandmaster Robert Huebner, Tarjan followed the first game of the Spassky-Fischer Iceland match of 1972, attempting to break Black's blockade of the center with 9... P-Q5, N-K2; 10... N-R4; P-K3; 11... P-B4.

Here Black cannot go snatching material by 11... PxP?; 12 BxP, P-R4 because of 13... P-K3, N-Q2; 14... P-K1, P-B5; 15... P-K3, Q-P; 16... O-O, which gives White an overwhelming position. However, no one has succeeded in refuting Fischer's invention, 11... N-N3, with the idea that the doubled pawns after 12... N-N3, P-N open the K5 file for Black, making it easier for him to defend his king. Moreover, insisting the black KP by 13... PxP?; 14... BxP, Spassky did, yields Black the option of a later strong knight re-



Position after 42 R-K1 and N-Q3.

Testing Tarjan's how to open the position for his bishops, it was not clear whether 17... P-R4, P-N5 would have accomplished anything.

If Tarjan could not find a positive plan, he could at least have prevented Dzindzichashvili from expanding on the queenside by 19... P-Q4. Later, should have disputed the QN file with 24... N1, although he would have been hard-pressed to defend against 2... Q-R4, which would have threatened 35... Q-N5.

When Dzindzichashvili starts coming down the QN file with 26... N-N5, Tarjan should have played 29... B-K3 to prevent the later powerful plan produced by 31... R-R5 and 34... R14-N5. On 32... P-B5; 33... K5 N-K3, Tarjan's pawn position would have disintegrated, for example, by 34... K-Q3, N-N6! C course, after 35... K-K3, R14-N5 he found himself in a total strait jacket.

The key to the final breakthrough was the knight sacrifice 34... N-R4, 35... N-N5, N-Q41... N-B4, culminating in the decisive sacrifice 42... N-N6! After 43... P-N3, P-P; 44... B-N2, B-R7, the second pin could not be resolved by 45... R-R4, P-R4 because the R would have produced a ne queen.

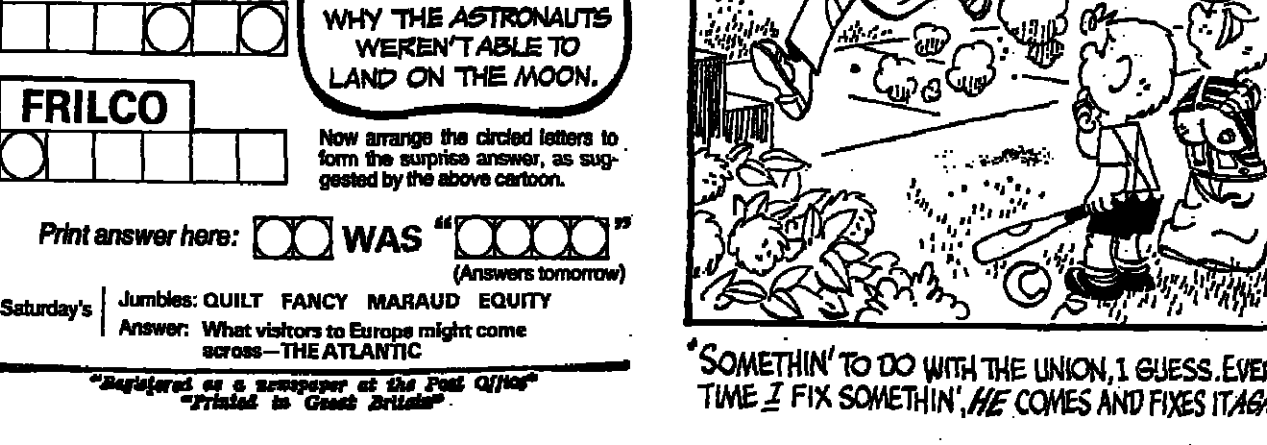
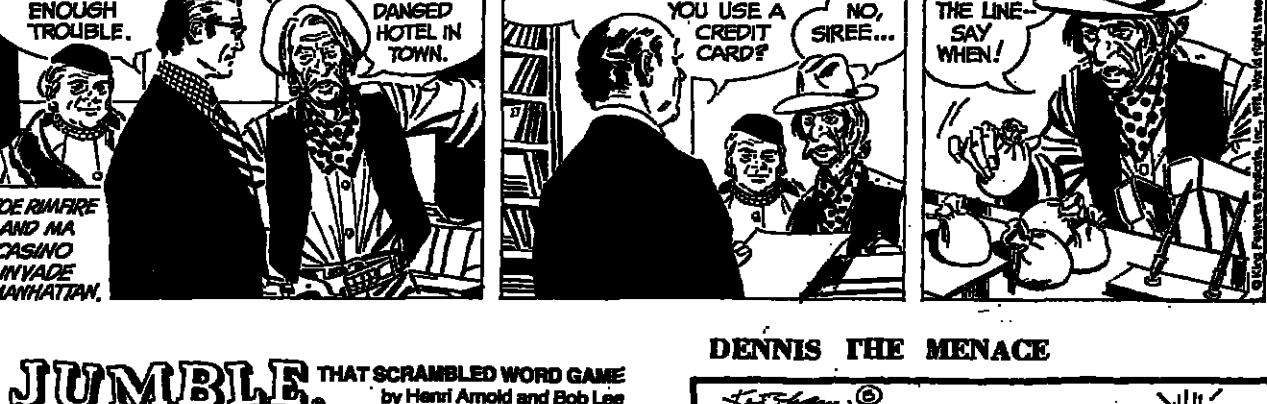
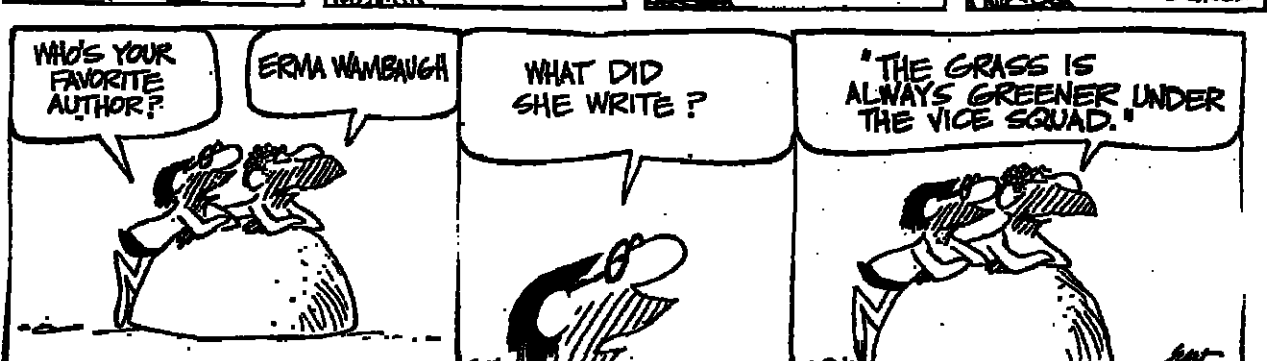
On 47... R-R5, Tarjan, hell less in the face of the connect passed pawns, resigned.

NIMZO-INDIAN DEFENSE			
White	Black	White	Black
1 P-Q4	Dzindzichashvili	25 B-B1	Dzindzichashvili
2 P-QB4	N-K3	26 Q-Q3	Q-N4
3 N-QB3	P-K3	27 Q-K2	Q-N4
4 P-K3	P-B4	28 R-Q3	Q-N4
5 B-Q3	N-B5	29 K-K2	Q-N1
6 N-B3	B-N5	30 K-K3	R12-N6
7 P-B4	P-Q3	31 K-Q3	R-R5
8 P-K4	P-K4	32 K-Q3	P-B5
9 P-Q5	N-K3	33 K-Q3	P-B5
10 N-B4	P-K3	34 K-Q3	P-B5
11 P-B4	N-N3	35 K-Q3	P-B5
12 N-N3	P-N3	36 R-N1	N-Q5
13 O-O	O-O	37 P-N3	K-K3
14 Q-K1	B-Q2	38 R-B1	K-K3
15 Q-Q1	Q-K1	39 R-N1	K-Q2
16 P-B5	P-K4	40 R-B1	Q-Q4
17 Q-B3	Q-R4	41 R-N1	N-B4
18 K-Q3	P-Q3	42 R-K1	N-N6
19 Q-K1	P-N4	43 P-N3	P-P
20 Q-K1	P-P	44 R-N2	R-R7
21 P-K2	Q-B2	45 P-B4	P-R5
22 B-P	R-N1	46 R-K3	R(7)Rch
23 Q-Q3	Q-N2	47 B-R	R-Bch
24 P-K3		48 Resigns	

DENNIS THE MENACE

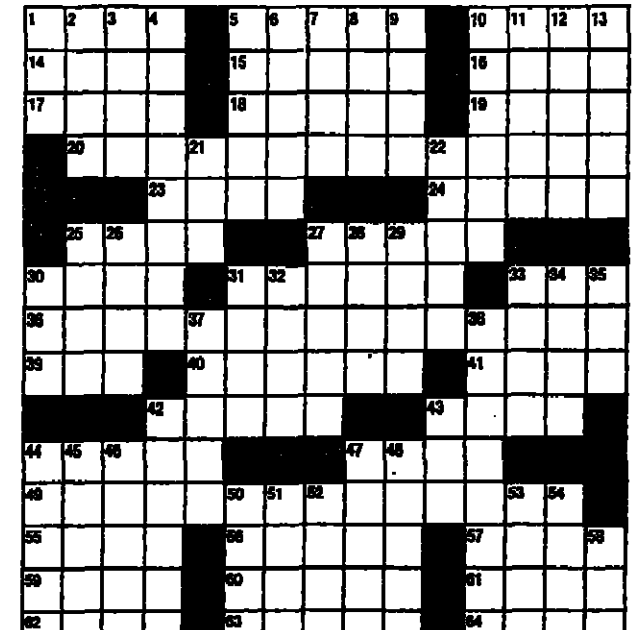


"SOMETHIN' TO DO WITH THE UNION, I GUESS. EVERY TIME I FIX SOMETHIN', HE COMES AND FIXES IT AGAIN!"



Print answer here: WAS (Answers tomorrow)

Saturday's Jumbles: QUILT FANCY MARAUD EQUITY Answer: What visitors to Europe might come across- THE ATLANTIC



ACROSS
1 College group, for short
5 Duplicate part
10 Sheep rugger
14 Hold sway
15 By word of mouth
16 Bohemian play review
17 At a distance
18 Cordial
19 U.S. author, 1900-65
20 Philatelist's prized possessions
24 On the deep
25 Product of haste
35 Timber tool
37 Praying figure
38 Don Juan's mother
41 Sponge aperture
42 Aest. dog
43 Dancer's output
44 Small groove

DOWN
1 French counter
2 Depth or thickness
3 Sound of laughter
4 "For Peace"
5 Casanova
6 Club member
7 Capital of ancient Ethiopia
8 Temples setting
9 Pasture
10 Gait
11 Ancient kingdom
12 DOWN
13 Bridge term
14 Jai -
15 Mosaic flooring
16 Sudden outpouring
17 Gift from China
18 "to be" -
19 "Established," e.g. "the" -
20 Bunching or blooming
21 Heating for some homes: Abbr.
22 Necktie
23 The "in" things
24 Ward off
25 Web-footed birds
26 Dlx. of L.A. from Reno
27 Possessed

WEATHER
ALBUQUERQUE 10 61 Cloudy
ANNE ARBOR 10 61 Cloudy
ATLANTA 10 61 Cloudy
BALTIMORE 10 61 Cloudy
BOSTON 10 61 Cloudy
BUENOS AIRES 10 61 Cloudy
CHICAGO 10 61 Cloudy
CINCINNATI 10 61 Cloudy
COLUMBIA 10 61 Cloudy
DENVER 10 61 Cloudy
DETROIT 10 61 Cloudy
HOUSTON 10 61 Cloudy
LOS ANGELES 10 61 Cloudy
MIAMI 10 61 Cloudy
MINNEAPOLIS 10 61 Cloudy
NEW YORK 10 61 Cloudy
PHILADELPHIA 10 61 Cloudy
PORTLAND 10 61 Cloudy
SAN FRANCISCO 10 61 Cloudy
SEATTLE 10 61 Cloudy
SPRINGFIELD 10 61 Cloudy
WASHINGTON 10 61 Cloudy
WICHITA 10 61 Cloudy
WISCONSIN 10 61 Cloudy
WYOMING 10 61 Cloudy

NEW YORK (AP) - The following table shows the weather for the week ending Feb. 26, 1978.

City	High	Low	Wind	Clouds	Humidity	Pressure	Visibility	Remarks
ALBUQUERQUE	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
ANNE ARBOR	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
ATLANTA	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
BALTIMORE	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
BOSTON	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
BUENOS AIRES	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
CHICAGO	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
CINCINNATI	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
COLUMBIA	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
DENVER	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
DETROIT	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
HOUSTON	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
LOS ANGELES	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
MIAMI	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
MINNEAPOLIS	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
NEW YORK	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
PHILADELPHIA	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
PORTLAND	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
SAN FRANCISCO	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
SEATTLE	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
SPRINGFIELD	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
WASHINGTON	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
WICHITA	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
WISCONSIN	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	
WYOMING	61	41	W 10-15	Partly Cloudy	65	30.0	10	

NEW YORK (AP) - The following table shows the weather for the week ending Feb. 26, 1978.

Observer

Wheels of Mayor Koch

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK—"Could I ask you something?" said Mayor Koch.

"You've already seen 'Star Wars' six times," I said. "I'm not going to shell out four bucks for another ticket."



Baker

"It's about the car," he said.

"Eddie, how many times have I told you, you can't have the car on week nights. And why don't you ever put some gasoline in once in a while?"

"Not your car," he said. "My car."

"You don't have a car, Ed. Remember? You use the subway. Now call up Bess on the phone and get her to help you with your homework."

"I want a car of my own," the mayor said.

"That cut it. I needed an audience. 'Would you come in here and listen to this mayor?' I'm going down for the third time in a sea of taxes, and he wants a car. Eddie, get your mind out of the fresh air. Eddie. This is New York. Cars are for New Jersey, for Connecticut, for Long Island. But in New York, Eddie, you don't get cars, you get taxes."

"It's not really a car I want," he said.

"That's more like it, Ed. I said. 'Now you're a good mayor for the next three months, and I might get you a three-speed bicycle.'"

"It's a limousine," he said.

"Go to your room, right away," I commanded, "and don't come down again until I call you."

He was sulky when I finally told him to turn off the "Kojak." So we could have a man-to-man talk. I didn't want to push him over the edge of the fresh air.

Good, strong qualities, and I knew that handling him wrong at this critical moment might turn him into a rebel racing around on motorcycles and saying "to hell with rent-controlled apartments."

I didn't want to lose him, but I didn't want to spoil him either. "Ed," I said, "would you like to have a nice used Moped?"

He looked on the edge of crying. "You'd let your own mayor be seen driving around on a

Moped?" he said. "You'd be the laughing stock of the community. Everybody'd call you a cheapskate and I couldn't bear that."

He was snuffing now.

"Ed, please. Ed. I love you. Ed. You know that, don't you?"

"I've never asked you for much," he said, "except for your vote."

"What do you really, really want of me, Ed?"

"A limousine."

"Now you listen to me, Eddie Koch. There's no such thing in this world as instant limousine. If you want a limousine you've got to start way down there at the bottom and work hard and earn your way up to it."

"Everybody in Washington has a limousine," he said.

"That's because Washington is just make-believe, Ed. Like Disneyland, only for politicians. But you're going to have to live in the real world, Ed. I'll tell you what—"

"Goody!" he shouted. "I can have the limousine."

"No, Ed. Not a limousine. But I'll tell you what. You do a good job negotiating the city labor contracts, and you can have a brand new motorcycle."

"What do I have to do to earn a second-hand moped?" he asked.

"It could be years in 1980 if you get the garbage out of the streets, Eddie. If you go all out and get the dog dung swept twice a week, you might even deserve a new station wagon."

"I bet Mayor La Guardia had a limousine."

"You'd have one too, Ed. Eddie, believe me. If by 1981 you work out something with Washington and the bankers to restore New York's solvency, I promise you—that you can have a limousine."

He began weeping, and wept, and wept. "What's wrong, Ed? Four years isn't long to wait for your very own limousine."

"You hate me," he cried. "You know that by 1981 I won't be able to use a limousine."

"Why, Eddie?"

"That's the year I'll be up for re-election," he said. "And that means I'll have to go back to riding the subway so I can be the people's choice."

So I told him to get a limousine. What difference does it make? With these tax rates I can't pay for anything anyhow.

Oregon Ranch's Specialty: The Llama as Tax Shelter

By David Larsen

SISTERS, OREGON—The llama, a cousin of the camel, is increasingly sought after these days—for backpacking, for its wool, as a pet, for sons and as an investment tax shelter.

And what better place to find one than in the middle of Oregon, where snow is plentiful and where Richard Patterson runs the largest herd of llamas in the United States.

Out of some 2,000 llamas in the United States, more than 400 may be found on the Patterson spread.

Because of the possibility of hoof-and-mouth disease, no more may be imported from their native habitat high in the Andes Mountains of South America.

And since the gestation period is 11 months—and Mr. Patterson is trying to build up his herd a little more—it isn't surprising that he has a waiting list of 200 people trying to buy llamas.

\$500 for a Male

They are more than willing to pay \$500 for a male and three to four times that for a female. Mr. Patterson likes to sell his animals in pairs because one tends to get lonesome.

As his ranch, creatures with such names as Raguel Welch, Lolo Lane and the Red Hot Llama choose on their alfalfa, and contemplate the turn of events that brought them to this unlikely location.

Their forefathers were imported by William Randolph Hearst for his estate at San Simeon, Cal. After his death, the stable was dispersed, and many of them wound up on a farm in Virginia. Enter Mr. Patterson.

"Our family in Ohio was in the machine-tool business," he said. "We started breeding Arabian horses and one day in 1956, for a hobby, I acquired a llama."

Mr. Patterson and his wife, Kay, began searching for the right place, with high pastureland. By the time they decided—six years ago—on moving to Sisters, they had 35 of the naughty animals.

And now the herd grazes contentedly on 350 acres of pastureland at an elevation of 3,100 feet. The region is a mini-growing center, although you would never guess it by the breath of a llama, which is notoriously bad. One of them is sardonically named Listerine (a brand of mouthwash).

Llamas, which have split hooves and look a little like long-haired goats, have no upper teeth in front. They can wiggle their ears one at a time or together. Their utterances are between a hum and a moo.

"They grow to roughly 350 pounds and measure about 42 inches in height," Mr. Patterson said. "In South America, where they travel in packtrains, they can carry 90 pounds for about 20 miles a day. They can withstand just about any elevation or type of climate."

Llamas, he went on, can be trained to pull a cart and are very popular by children. They can be taught to lie down on command.

"The rumor that they are spitters is a bum rap," Mr. Patterson said. "A mother will spit to protect her baby, but otherwise there is no problem."

They eat hay and live calmly, usually as long as 20 years. "A llama doesn't need to be sheared, but if you want to do it once a year, the wool is currently going for \$1 to \$2 an ounce and you get an average of five pounds from each haircut," Mr. Patterson said.

The hide can be made into rugs. In their native habitat



Los Angeles Times/Joe Kennedy

Richard Patterson carries 6-hour-old llama to nursery in Oregon as mother follows closely.

their milk is part of the local diet and the dried dung is used for fuel. "You can also eat your llama," Mr. Patterson added. "But it's an expensive steak."

An Investment

As an investment, according to Mr. Patterson, llamas can be depreciated over a 5-to-10-year period.

Mr. Patterson, 40, dabbles in other exotic beasts. A couple of Christmas ago he got his wife a few camels.

This past holiday he gave her a pair of kangaroos. But Polaris Arabian horses and llamas are his main concern. He has never been to Peru and feels it would be too heart-breaking to visit there, because he would want to come back with a llama.

"You know, most of my buyers do it on trust," he said, prowling through his herd. "They don't get up here to inspect their purchase beforehand."

Mr. Patterson was on one of five inspection tours he makes daily to discover newborn babies and make sure they are up and nursing properly.

Accompanied by the mother, he generally carries the baby to a nursing stall where it remains until it is weaned at six months. Then the llama is either sold or kept until it is 18 months old and ready for breeding.

© Los Angeles Times.

PEOPLE: Nixon Opens Estate To Curious Tourists

Rubberneckers at San Clemente? Not exactly the usual thing at former President Nixon's seaside retreat, but on Sunday flocks of tourists (at \$2.50 a head) were brought in by bus to tour the grounds of Nixon's home. No one was allowed off the bus, which toured the area in about seven minutes. The tours were arranged by the San Clemente Chamber of Commerce to highlight a two-day celebration of the town's 50th birthday. "I don't think there's any question that Nixon's the No. 1 tourist draw here," said Alex Goodman, executive manager of the chamber. "No matter what they think about Nixon, a lot of history was made here and people want to see it."

The former president and his wife stayed out of sight, but thoughtfully left their front door open for the sightseers. San Clemente Mayor Donna Wilkinson, who came up with the idea last June, said she wanted something special for the anniversary and wrote Nixon about her idea. Within a week, she saw a Nixon aide reported back that the former president was "honored and delighted by the idea." Added the mayor: "What Mr. Nixon did is a really nice gesture. He may be introverted, but this is quite a nice thing."

Lisa Minnelli and her second husband, television producer Jack Haley Jr., have agreed to a separation, says their lawyer. Lisa has been seen frequently over the past few months with film producer Martin Scorsese, but both deny they're anything but good friends. There are no plans for a divorce, the lawyer says.

The future of Barbara (Mullin-Decker) Walters remains cloudy. ABC says it does not plan to remove her from the evening newscasting, nor does it plan to diminish her role. But the question of her continuing as an anchorwoman was left unanswered. ABC has begun talks with Robert M. Wall, mayor with Public Broadcasting, over the possibility of his joining the program. The ABC evening news show is lagging behind NBC and CBS, the ratings report.

Former Attorney General John Mitchell will have another two weeks on furlough from the Federal Minimum Security Prison in Montgomery, Ala. At the urging of Mitchell's doctor, the Bureau of Prisons extended his furlough so that he might continue his recovery from heart surgery. Mitchell will be eligible for parole June 31. He was sentenced to serve one to four years for his part in the Watergate cover-up.

Things are looking up for Francis Fox, who resigned as a solicitor general of Canada after admitting before Parliament that he had forged the signature of a woman friend's husband to a abortion form. First, Canadian officials announced they would not press criminal charges against Fox for making the false affidavit, and now Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau has said he may consider returning Fox to a cabinet post. "I have no precise intentions for him at the present time," said Trudeau. "I am happy to see that this decision will allow him, I hope, to pursue his public career."

Actor Richard Burton, swayed off alcohol but still addicted to cigarettes, says he appeared in the play "Equus" on Broadway in 1974 to prove to the world that he was not an alcoholic. He said he told his agent after the break up of his marriage to Elizabeth Taylor: "Look, I've got to get back on stage to prove to people that I don't fall flat on my face all the time. That I'm not an alcoholic and all that... that can remember lines and turn it on time and simply show that I'm a professional." Burton, speaking in an interview published in the latest issue of *Time* magazine, said he had no trouble giving a drink. But when he tried to smoke "between 60 and 100 cigarettes a day," he said, he became "an absolute fiend—unlucky."

Britain's Prince Charles got snubbed from Scotland when Edinburgh City Council decided to make him a freeman of the city, an honor that has traditionally been extended to the royal family. Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip are both freemen. The proposal failed to get a two-thirds majority because Socialist councillors dissented.

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418, 420, 422, 424, 426, 428, 430, 432, 434, 436, 438, 440, 442, 444, 446, 448, 450, 452, 454, 456, 458, 460, 462, 464, 466, 468, 470, 472, 474, 476, 478, 480, 482, 484, 486, 488, 490, 492, 494, 496, 498, 500, 502, 504, 506, 508, 510, 512, 514, 516, 518, 520, 522, 524, 526, 528, 530, 532, 534, 536, 538, 540, 542, 544, 546, 548, 550, 552, 554, 556, 558, 560, 562, 564, 566, 568, 570, 572, 574, 576, 578, 580, 582, 584, 586, 588, 590, 592, 594, 596, 598, 600, 602, 604, 606, 608, 610, 612, 614, 616, 618, 620, 622, 624, 626, 628, 630, 632, 634, 636, 638, 640, 642, 644, 646, 648, 650, 652, 654, 656, 658, 660, 662, 664, 666, 668, 670, 672, 674, 676, 678, 680, 682, 684, 686, 688, 690, 692, 694, 696, 698, 700, 702, 704, 706, 708, 710, 712, 714, 716, 718, 720, 722, 724, 726, 728, 730, 732, 734, 736, 738, 740, 742, 744, 746, 748, 750, 752, 754, 756, 758, 760, 762, 764, 766, 768, 770, 772, 774, 776, 778, 780, 782, 784, 786, 788, 790, 792, 794, 796, 798, 800, 802, 804, 806, 808, 810, 812, 814, 816, 818, 820, 822, 824, 826, 828, 830, 832, 834, 836, 838, 840, 842, 844, 846, 848, 850, 852, 854, 856, 858, 860, 862, 864, 866, 868, 870, 872, 874, 876, 878, 880, 882, 884, 886, 888, 890, 892, 894, 896, 898, 900, 902, 904, 906, 908, 910, 912, 914, 916, 918, 920, 922, 924, 926, 928, 930, 932, 934, 936, 938, 940, 942, 944, 946, 948, 950, 952, 954, 956, 958, 960, 962, 964, 966, 968, 970, 972, 974, 976, 978, 980, 982, 984, 986, 988, 990, 992, 994, 996, 998, 1000, 1002, 1004, 1006, 1008, 1010, 1012, 1014, 1016, 1018, 1020, 1022, 1024, 1026, 1028, 1030, 1032, 1034, 1036, 1038, 1040, 1042, 1044, 1046, 1048, 1050, 1052, 1054, 1056, 1058, 1060, 1062, 1064, 1066, 1068, 1070, 1072, 1074, 1076, 1078, 1080, 1082, 1084, 1086, 1088, 1090, 1092, 1094, 1096, 1098, 1100, 1102, 1104, 1106, 1108, 1110, 1112, 1114, 1116, 1118, 1120, 1122, 1124, 1126, 1128, 1130, 1132, 1134, 1136, 1138, 1140, 1142, 1144, 1146, 1148, 1150, 1152, 1154, 1156, 1158, 1160, 1162, 1164, 1166, 1168, 1170, 1172, 1174, 1176, 1178, 1180, 1182, 1184, 1186, 1188, 1190, 1192, 1194, 1196, 1198, 1200, 1202, 1204, 1206, 1208, 1210, 1212, 1214, 1216, 1218, 1220, 1222, 1224, 1226, 1228, 1230, 1232, 1234, 1236, 1238, 1240, 1242, 1244, 1246, 1248, 1250, 1252, 1254, 1256, 1258, 1260, 1262, 1264, 1266, 1268, 1270, 1272, 1274, 1276, 1278, 1280, 1282, 1284, 1286, 1288, 1290, 1292, 1294, 1296, 1298, 1300, 1302, 1304, 1306, 1308, 1310, 1312, 1314, 1316, 1318, 1320, 1322, 1324, 1326, 1328, 1330, 1332, 1334, 1336, 1338, 1340, 1342, 1344, 1346, 1348, 1350, 1352, 1354, 1356, 1358, 1360, 1362, 1364, 1366, 1368, 1370, 1372, 1374, 1376, 1378, 1380, 1382, 1384, 1386, 1388, 1390, 1392, 1394, 1396, 1398, 1400, 1402, 1404, 1406, 1408, 1410, 1412, 1414, 1416, 1418, 1420, 1422, 1424, 1426, 1428, 1430, 1432, 1434, 1436, 1438, 1440, 1442, 1444, 1446, 1448, 1450, 1452, 1454, 1456, 1458, 1460, 1462, 1464, 1466, 1468, 1470, 1472, 1474, 1476, 1478, 1480, 1482, 1484, 1486, 1488, 1490, 1492, 1494, 1496, 1498, 1500, 1502, 1504, 1506, 1508, 1510, 1512, 1514, 1516, 1518, 1520, 1522, 1524, 1526, 1528, 1530, 1532, 1534, 1536, 1538, 1540, 1542, 1544, 1546, 1548, 1550, 1552, 1554, 1556, 1558, 1560, 1562, 1564, 1566, 1568, 1570, 1572, 1574, 1576, 1578, 1580, 1582, 1584, 1586, 1588, 1590, 1592, 1594, 1596, 1598, 1600, 1602, 1604, 1606, 1608, 1610, 1612, 1614, 1616, 1618, 1620, 1622, 1624, 1626, 1628, 1630, 1632, 1634, 1636, 1638, 1640, 1642, 1644, 1646, 1648, 1650, 1652, 1654, 1656, 1658, 1660, 1662, 1664, 1666, 1668, 1670, 1672, 1674, 1676, 1678, 1680, 1682, 1684, 1686, 1688, 1690, 1692, 1694, 1696, 1698, 1700, 1702, 1704, 1706, 1708, 1710, 1712, 1714, 1716, 1718, 1720, 1722, 1724, 1726, 1728, 1730, 1732, 1734, 1736, 1738, 1740, 1742, 1744, 1746, 1748, 1750, 1752, 1754, 1756, 1758, 1760, 1762, 1764, 1766, 1768, 1770, 1772, 1774, 1776, 1778, 1780, 1782, 1784, 1786, 1788, 1790, 1792, 1794, 1796, 1798, 1800, 1802, 1804, 1806, 1808, 1810, 1812, 1814, 1816, 1818, 1820, 1822, 1824, 1826, 1828, 1830, 1832, 1834, 1836, 1838, 1840, 1842, 1844, 1846, 1848, 1850, 1852, 1854, 1856, 1858, 1860, 1862, 1864, 1866, 1868, 1870, 1872, 1874, 1876, 1878, 1880, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1888, 1890, 1892, 1894, 1896, 1898, 1900, 1902, 1904, 1906, 1908, 1910, 1912, 1914, 1916, 1918, 1920, 1922, 1924, 1926, 1928, 1930, 1932, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1944, 1946, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020, 2022, 2024, 2026, 2028, 2030, 2032, 2034, 2036, 2038, 2040, 2042, 2044, 2046, 2048, 2050, 2052, 2054, 2056, 2058, 2060, 2062, 2064, 2066, 2068, 2070, 2072, 2074, 2076, 2078, 2080, 2082, 2084, 2086, 2088, 2090, 2092, 2094, 2096, 2098, 2100, 2102, 2104, 2106, 2108, 2110, 2112, 2114, 2116, 2118, 2120, 2122, 2124, 2126, 2128, 2130, 2132, 2134, 2136, 2138, 2140, 2142, 2144, 2146, 2148, 2150, 2152, 2154, 2156, 2158, 2160, 2162, 2164, 2166, 2168, 2170, 2172, 2174, 2176, 2178, 2180, 2182, 2184, 2186, 2188, 2190, 2192, 2194, 2196, 2198, 2200, 2202, 2204, 2206, 2208, 2210, 2212, 2214, 2216, 2218, 2220, 2222, 2224, 2226, 2228, 2230, 2232, 2234, 2236, 2238, 2240, 2242, 2244, 2246, 2248, 2250, 2252, 2254, 2256, 2258, 2260, 2262, 2264, 2266, 2268, 2270, 2272, 2274, 2276, 2278, 2280, 2282, 2284, 2286, 2288, 2290, 2292, 2294, 2296, 2298, 2300, 2302, 2304, 2306, 2308, 2310, 2312, 2314, 2316, 2318, 2320, 2322, 2324, 2326, 2328, 2330, 2332, 2334, 2336, 2338, 2340, 2342, 2344, 2346, 2348, 2350, 2352, 2354, 2356, 2358, 2360, 2362, 2364, 2366, 2368, 2370, 2372, 2374, 2376, 2378, 2380, 2382, 2384, 2386, 2388, 2390, 2392, 2394, 2396, 2398, 2400, 2402, 2404, 2406, 2408, 2410, 2412, 241